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Book 167



THE
INVASION OF BRITAIN
BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

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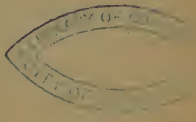
JULIUS CAESAR.

FROM A PUST IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

THE
INVASION OF BRITAIN
BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

BY
THOMAS LEWIN, ESQ.
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LONDON
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS
1859



P R E F A C E.

THE following pages were commenced with a view to delivering a Lecture before a Literary Society in Sussex, where the subject would have possessed a local interest ; but the discussion was soon found to involve a minuteness of detail which was little suited to a general audience. The author, therefore, rather than confess that his time had been thrown away (an opinion which will still be entertained by many of his readers), determined on submitting the result of his labour, (or rather of his amusement,) to the judgment of the public.

It is almost investing a trifle with too great importance to thank several friends for their assistance, but the author cannot refrain from acknowledging the kindness of the Rev. C. Merivale, for the tract noticed in the Appendix ; Mr. S. Waley, for the loan of Mariette's Memoir on the Portus Itius, from which

much valuable information has been derived ; Mr. Barton, of Dover, for inquiries about the Tides ; and the author's relative, Mrs. S. Lewin, for much time and pains bestowed on the preparation of the Illustrations.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 3, note, *for* "J. Cæsarem" *read* "C. Cæsarem."

„ 9, line 1, *dele* "of Cæsar."

„ 25, last line, *for* "Cneius" *read* "Cnæus."

„ 25, *for* "we have already had occasion to mention" *read* "we are informed."

„ 30, line 17, *for* "had been" *read* "were."

„ 39, line 6, *correct thus*: "if the wind was in his favour in coming from Boulogne to Dover, it must have blown from some point of the south, and then if it still continued in that quarter, and Cæsar sailed before it, he must have steered up Channel to the east."

„ 43, line 5, *for* "coast" *read* "west."

BRITAIN

Canterbury

Sandwich

Deal

Walmer

CHALLOCK WOOD

Stour River

Wye

Lynne

Folkstone

Castle
Dover

SOUTH FORELAND

East Wear Bay

Hythe

STRAIT OF
DOVER

1st Voyage
2^d Voyage

Appledore

Rye

ROMNEY MARSH

Dymchurch

Romney

Dungeness

Calais

C. Blancnez

Wissant

C. Grisnez

Ambleteuse

Wemereux

Boulogne

PAS
DE
CALAIS

Touquet R.

La Canche R.

Montreuil

Authie R.

Somme R.

BRITISH
CHANNEL

THE

CAMPAIGNS OF JULIUS CÆSAR

IN BRITAIN.

FIRST INVASION.

I PROPOSE to sketch the first page of British history, the invasion of the island by Caius Julius Cæsar, afterwards Roman emperor. We here look across a gulf of nearly two thousand years; but, if I mistake not, the picture to be presented of that period will be graphic and distinct. We have an account from the pen of Cæsar himself, the principal actor in the drama; and his Commentaries, though intended for notes only, are so masterly and so full of lifelike impressions that by bestowing a little care we can follow him from place to place, and from day to day, with the most extraordinary minuteness. The Roman calendar was at that time in such confusion that any references to it would only have tended to mislead, and Cæsar, writing for posterity, has measured his campaigns by winter and summer, by equinoxes and moons. In tracing his progress we shall find some very remarkable instances of the precision with which his steps can be traced by means of casual observations upon the phenomena of nature, and it is this singular characteristic of his

narrative which has tempted our eminent astronomers, Halley and Airy, to devote some portion of their time and labour to the investigation of the subject.

Historians and antiquarians are all agreed that the first footstep of Cæsar upon these shores was planted either in Sussex or in Kent. In which of the two has been warmly contested, and I shall not here by anticipation determine the controversy. I shall lay before you the facts which have left no doubt on my own mind, and will, if the result answer to expectation, bring conviction to yourselves. The palm contended for is no mean one, for the Roman legions were so warmly received, that, even under Cæsar's auspices, they effected their landing with the utmost difficulty.

It was in B. c. 58 that Cæsar took possession, as prætor or governor, of the province of Gaul, then comprising the North of Italy, called Gallia Cisalpina, with part of Illyricum, and the South of France, called Gallia Transalpina, or Provincia Romanorum. In the course of four successive years, Cæsar, by feats of arms and diplomatic address, extended the limits of his province as far as the Rhine eastward, and the barrier of the ocean to the north and west. Towards the close of B. c. 55, he looked around in vain for an enemy in Gaul, and cast his eyes in the direction of Britain. He already anticipated the coming conflict between himself and Pompey; and it was necessary to find some plausible pretext for adding to the number of his legions, and promoting their efficiency by constant employment. Besides, what booty was to be expected from a country whither Roman spoliation had never yet penetrated, and which was said to produce gold and silver and pearls!¹

¹ "Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla pretium victoriæ. Gignit et oceanus margaritas."—*Tac. Vit. Agric.* "Multi

what glory was to be reaped from the annexation to the Roman Republic of the largest known island, and that so remote as to be deemed, in popular belief, beyond the limits of the world!¹

A favourable opportunity also now presented itself, for hostilities had lately broken out between Cassivelaun, king of the Catyeuchlani (Middlesex and Hertfordshire), and Imanuent, king of the Trinobantes (the people of Essex), and Imanuent, finding himself worsted in the conflict, had appealed to Cæsar for assistance against his too powerful neighbour.²

The excuse ostensibly alleged by Cæsar for the aggression was the same as that more recently put forward by the Great Napoleon, in justification of a like fruitless attempt, viz. that Britain had subsidised hostile powers in the Continental wars.³

The invasion of Britain being resolved upon, the first thing to be done was to gain information touching the ports of the island, and the resistance to be offered.⁴ The Gauls in general were wholly ignorant upon these matters, and he could learn nothing. He then sum-

prodiderunt (J. Casarem) Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum." — *Suet. Cæs.* 46, 47.

¹ "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." *Virg. Eclog.* i. 67.

² In the following year Mandubert, the son of Imanuent, on escaping to Gaul, is said "*fidem Cæsaris secutus*" (*B. G.* v. 20); and he had, therefore, pledged himself to Cæsar the year before.

³ "Quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris subministrata auxilia intelligebat." — *Cæs. B. G.* iv. 20. "Auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, (Veneti) accersunt." — *B. G.* iii. 9.

⁴ The difficulties of Cæsar, from his total ignorance when he embarked on the first expedition, were a favourite topic with the orators for practice in speaking. "Hæc et in suasoriis aliquando tractari solent; ut, si Cæsar deliberet, An Britanniam impugnet? Quæ sit Oceani natura? An Britannia insula? Quanta in ea terra? Quo numero militum aggredienda?" — *Quintil. de Orator.* vii. 4.

moned into his presence the merchants who traded with Britain, and must, therefore, be acquainted with the products of the country and the manners of the inhabitants. But to his surprise, the merchants were equally dull; so that he could not even satisfy himself whether there existed along the coast a single harbour for the reception of a fleet.¹ One cannot help surmising that these merchants could have told a great deal more than was suffered to escape from their lips. The ignorance of the Gauls was probably not affected, for Cæsar makes the remark, as true of the past day as of the present, that no one thought of visiting Britain unless he had some substantial reason for it.²

Cæsar, however, was not to be thus foiled; and, as he could extract nothing from the Gauls, he determined on despatching one of his own officers to survey the island. Caius Volusenus was selected for the purpose. He started on his errand in a long ship³, i. e. one built for the utmost speed, and impelled by oars; in short, a Roman trireme, or war-galley.

Meanwhile, Cæsar, to prepare for the expedition, marched into the country of the Morini. We shall hear something more of these Morini, and we may, therefore, pause at once to ascertain where their country was

¹ The Veneti of Gaul (the people of Vannes) were those who chiefly traded with Britain, and they did every thing to thwart the expedition: "ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν (οἱ Οὐένετοι) κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ." — *Strab.* iv. p. 271. The Morini also, who occupied the coast opposite Britain, were equally friendly to the islanders: "τῶν Μωρίνων φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων." — *Dion.* xxxix. 51.

² "Neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam." — *Cæs. B. G.* iv. 20. In that age also, as in the present, Britain was the asylum of refugees from the Continent: "hujus consilii principes . . . in Britanniam profugisse." — *Cæs. B. G.* ii. 14.

³ "Navi longa." — *B. G.* iv. 21.

situate. Cæsar tells us that he went thither because thence was the *shortest passage into Britain*.¹ It was, therefore, unquestionably the part of Gaul opposite to Dover; and the only debatable point is, what were the exact limits of the Morini, east and west? Ptolemy, the celebrated geographer, in tracing the northern line of the coast of Gaul, from the river Seine eastwards, enumerates the peoples and rivers in the following order:—1. The Atrebates (of Arras); 2. the Bellovaci; 3. the Ambiani (of Amiens, on the Somme); 4. the Morini; 5. the River Tabula (the Scheldt); and 6. the Meuse.² Thus the Morini were eastward of the Ambiani, and as the latter were settled on the Somme, and reached down to the coast, as appears from Pliny³, the Morini certainly did not extend *beyond* the Somme westward.⁴ It is likely that they

¹ "Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus."—*Cæs. B.G.* iv. 21. How then could Cæsar have sailed, as Professor Airy supposes, from the estuary of the Somme, which is double the distance? But of this more hereafter.

² "Κατέχουσι δὲ τὴν παράλιον, ἐπιλαμβάνοντες συχνὸν καὶ τῆς μεσογείας, παρὰ μὲν τὸν Σηκοάναν Ἀτρεβάτιοι," &c.—*Ptol.* ii. 9. 7.

³ "A Scaldi [Scheldt] incolunt *extera* [on the coast] Toxandri pluribus nominibus. Deinde Menapii, Oromansaci juncti pago [district] qui *Gessoriacus* vocatur, Britanni, *Ambiani*, Bellovaci. *Introrsus* Castologi, *Atrebates*, Nervii liberi," &c.—*N. H.* iv. 31.

⁴ The Ἰκιον ἄκρον of Ptolemy is generally taken for Cape Grisnez; and if so, as Gesoriacus Portus was certainly Boulogne, Ptolemy, in this part of the coast, has fallen into an error in placing Cape Grisnez to the *west* of Boulogne. Mariette suggests (p. 49) that Ἰκιον ἄκρον is Cape Alpreck, about three miles to the west of Boulogne, of great perpendicular height, and formerly projecting further into the sea; and then Gesoria would correspond to Isques or Iccium (at Pont de Briques), and Gesoriacus Portus to the port of Boulogne. If Ἰκιον ἄκρον be Cape Grisnez, and rightly placed by Ptolemy, then Gesoriacus Portus would, in Ptolemy's idea, be Calais;

occupied the coast from the river La Canche west, to the Aa, at Gravelines, east.¹

While Cæsar was amongst the Morini collecting vessels for the intended invasion, an embassy arrived from some of the British states to tender their submission. Cæsar's projects had got wind, and been wafted across the Channel, and the Britons hoped that they might avert hostilities by some complimentary forms; but Cæsar was wide awake, and knew as well as they the value of words, and making large promises proceeded with his armament. He also sent back with the envoys a Gallic partisan of his own: one Comius, king of the Atrebates, of Arras, in Gaul. He was thought to carry some weight in Britain, and was, therefore, ordered to visit the different chieftains of the island, and promote the Roman interests²; but Comius had no sooner landed than the spirited Britons seized him as a spy and put him in chains.³ C. Volusenus, who had been sent across the Channel to reconnoitre the coast, returned after an absence of five days only, and made his report, a somewhat meagre one, as we must necessarily conclude; for, allowing two days for coming and going, he had only three days at command, and, in so short a space, he could scarcely have done more than take the soundings between Dungeness and the South Foreland. Of the country itself he could render no account what-

whereas it was certainly Boulogne. Ptolemy, in short, is full of error, and not to be depended upon in detail, though invaluable as a general guide.

¹ Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne. Richborough is described by an ancient writer as looking, not toward the Morini, but toward the Menapii and Batavi. "Rutubi Portus, unde, haud procul a Morinis in austro positos, Menapos Batavosque prospectant." — *Æthicus*, cited *Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. xix.

² Cæs. B. G. iv. 21.

³ B. G. iv. 27.

ever, for he had not dared even to set foot upon shore.¹

As we are now approaching the time of the actual invasion, I must endeavour to give a slight sketch of Britain, such as C. Volusenus did not see it, but such as Cæsar himself afterwards found it. The picture of an ancient Briton, as portrayed in the frontispiece of our school histories, is no doubt familiar to every one. An athletic figure *in puris naturalibus*, with the exception of the skin of some wild beast thrown about his loins, a moustache on the upper lip, a smooth chin, long hanging hair behind, a spear in the hand, and the whole body stained after some curious pattern with woad²; in short, a barbarian, such as may still be found in some of the islands of the Pacific. Now Britain at this time was unquestionably occupied by two very different races, and the above portrait may have some foundation for it as regards one of them, but is certainly very far from the truth as regards the other. Originally, all the West of Europe, including France, Great Britain, and Ireland, was inhabited by a people called by the

¹ “Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Cæsarem revertitur, quæque ibi perspexisset renuntiat.”—*Cæs. B. G.* 21.

² It must be admitted that, according to Cæsar, the Britons generally stained themselves with vitrum or woad. (*B. G.* v. 14.) Herodian adds that the stains were imitations of animals (τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ζώων ποικίλων.—*Herod. cited Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxiv.); and I do not suppose that the whole body was stained, but the face only, in order, as Cæsar remarks, to give them a fiercer aspect in war. In Egypt the women still stain the chin with some device, and, if I mistake not, there are traces of the same custom on the chin of the Sphinx; yet neither the present nor the ancient Egyptians are called barbarians.

Greeks Galatians, by the Romans Gauls, and by themselves Celtæ; all, no doubt, the same word under different forms. We have still large traces of the name in our own island. Thus Scotland is the land of the Gael; the Principality is Wales, Wallia, or Gallia, or in French *Pays de Galles*; and Cornwall, one of the last strongholds of the Celts, is so called as being corner-Wales. I need scarcely mention that Gaelic, Welsh, and Cornish are all essentially the same language. The Celts, then, were the first head-wave of population which, streaming from the East, poured over the broad fields of Gaul. But soon from behind came another mountain-wave, the Germanic race, which soon deluged all the countries up to the Rhine. Here the great breadth of the river for some while presented a check, but at last the pressure from behind forced them across the barrier, and they drove the weaker Celtic family before them. In the North of Europe, the Germans eventually occupied all the parts between the Rhine and the Seine, and were known by the name of Belgæ, not to be confounded with the Belgians of the present day, but described by Cæsar as the most formidable of all the nations west of the Rhine.¹ As they occupied the coast just opposite Britain, and in clear weather could descry the white cliffs of Albion, they would naturally soon transport themselves across the strait. The upshot was that they colonised all the south-eastern portion of Britain, compelling the Celtic inhabitants to fall back into the *cul-de-sac* of Cornwall to the south, the mountains of Wales to the west, and the Caledonian hills to the north.² We can now understand the statement

¹ "Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ." — *Cæs. B. G.* i. 1.

² The description of the barbarous part of Britain exactly tallies

of Cæsar, that the clans in Britain were many of them called after those in Gaul¹; that they had the same customs²; that Divitiacus, king of the Suessones, a tribe of the Belgæ, was also (as Canute in after times) the acknowledged sovereign of a wide territory in Britain³; that Cingetorix was the name not only of the king of the Treviri, or Belgæ about Treves, on the Moselle⁴, but also of one of the kings of Kent⁵; that the houses in Britain were the counterparts of those in Gaul⁶; that the language of the Belgæ and the Britons was all but identical⁷; and that Comius, the chief of Arras in Gaul, was sent for this reason by Cæsar into Britain to plead the Roman cause in their own tongue.

We must distinguish, then, between the Belgæ and

with that by Xiphilinus of the Britons to the north of the Roman wall. (*Xiphilin.* lxxvi. 12; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lx.)

¹ "Qui omnes fere [the South-Britons] iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti civitatibus eo pervenerunt."—*Cæs. B. G.* v. 12.

² "Neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine."—*Cæs. B. G.* v. 14. And so Strabo, iv. 5: "τὰ δ' ἥθη ὁμοία Κελτοῖς."

³ "Divitiacum totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui quum magnæ partis harum regionum tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit."—*Cæs. B. G.* ii. 4.

⁴ *Cæs. B. G.* v. 3.

⁵ *Cæs. B. G.* v. 22.

⁶ "Ædificia fere Gallicis consimilia."—*Ib.* v. 12. Chiefly of wood and thatched: "καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκειμένας."—*Diod. Sic.* v. 21.

⁷ This appears from Tacitus, *Agric.* c. 11: "Sermo haud multum diversus:" and this was a dialect of the German; for Tacitus, speaking of the Æstui, a German tribe, says, "Lingua Britannicæ propior" (*Mor. Germ.* 45). The Æstui are placed "dextro Suevici maris littore" (*Ib.* 45); and amongst the Suevic nations are the Angli, who worshipped "Hertham [Earth], id est, Terram matrem" (*Ib.* 40). Thus Hengist and Horsa, and the Saxons, merely followed the road which their ancestors had taken centuries before. Indeed the influx of the Germans into Britain was only suspended by Cæsar's invasion.

the Celtæ of Britain, the Southern and Northern. The latter were, perhaps, but little elevated above the state of barbarians. Cæsar describes them as clad in skins, and supporting themselves from their cattle rather than from tillage.¹ But the Belgæ, with whom the Roman legions were engaged, though also called barbarians (by which name all were designated who were not Greeks or Romans), had attained to a very considerable degree of civilisation. In the first place, there was a crowded population, which is never found in a state of barbarism.² Even in literary attainments the Britons were in advance of the Gauls, for the priests are universally the depositaries of learning, and the Gauls were in the habit of sending their youth to Britain to perfect themselves in the knowledge of Druidism.³ Then there was great commercial intercourse carried on between Britain and Gaul⁴, not to

¹ Ib. v. 14. The remains of one of these Celtic chieftains may be seen in the museum at Scarborough. On opening a tumulus in the neighbourhood, a coffin excavated from the solid trunk of an oak was discovered, and in it a skeleton more than six feet in stature, which had been wrapped in the hairy skin of some animal; and at the side were arrow-heads of flint. A more genuine relic of the earliest inhabitants of our island, and when still in a savage state, is nowhere to be found.

² "Hominum est infinita multitudo."—*Cæs. B. G.* v. 12. "Εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον."—*Diod. Sic.* v. 21.

³ "Qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo (in Britanniam) discendi causa proficiscuntur."—*B. G.* vi. 13. It is remarkable that the Druids, though they taught their religion orally, yet in ordinary matters used the Greek letters. "Quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur litteris."—*B. G.* vi. 14.

⁴ *B. G.* iv. 20, v. 13. The principal Continental rivers frequented by British merchants were the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and Garonne (*Strab. lib. iv.* 5). Strabo enumerates amongst the exports of Britain, corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, hides, slaves, and dogs; and

mention that a partial trade existed between Britain and more distant nations, as the Phœnicians.¹ It was only about a century after this that London, by its present name, was a city crowded with merchants and of world-wide celebrity.² The country also to the south had been cleared of its forests, and was under the plough.³ The country, moreover, must have been intersected by good roads⁴, for the chief strength of the British army consisted of their war-chariots, the very construction of which requires no contemptible progress in mechanical skill.⁵ When Cassivelaunus had been defeated, and had dispersed the main body of his troops, he still retained about him the enormous number of no less than four thousand war-chariots.⁶ But I do not know a greater confirmation of British advancement than the circumstance mentioned by Cæsar,

amongst the imports, ivory, bracelets, necklaces, amber, vessels of glass, and small wares (*Strabo*, iv. 5); and he says that the customs levied on the exports and imports between Gaul and Britain were more valuable than any tribute that could have been extorted from Britain if conquered (*Strabo*, ii. 5, iv. 5). This argues a very advanced state of commerce, and therefore of civilisation.

¹ Strabo, lib. iii. 5.

² "Londinium cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatum maxime celebre."—*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 33.

³ Cæs. B. G. v. 14.

⁴ Cæsar (*B. G.* v. 19) speaks of "omnibus viis notis semitisque."

⁵ Every reader of the Bible must recollect the frequent allusion to the use of chariots in the wars of the Jews; and every classic must recur to the chariots of the Greeks and Trojans on the banks of the Simois and Scamander. The Britons in the time of Cæsar were probably not far behind the Jews in the times of their judges and kings, or the Greeks in the days of Homer. "Ἀρμασι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ κεχρῆσθαι παραδίδονται."—*Diod. Sic.* v. 21.

⁶ Cæs. B. G. v. 19.

that, when he made war upon the Veneti to the west of Gaul, the Britons sent a fleet of ships to their assistance.¹ This could not have taken place unless the Britons had possessed an organised constitution, and formed continental alliances, and maintained a trained and permanent navy. There is one instance of their successful pursuit of the useful arts which I may not omit, as it does honour more particularly to my own county. The iron which was used by the Britons was manufactured by themselves in the maritime parts, i. e. amongst the Regni, or people of Sussex.² It is familiar to all, that a great part of that county is still strewn up and down with the cinders of furnaces worked from the earliest ages until the commencement of the present century, when, as there was no coal in the district, and the wood was exhausted, they were abandoned for want of fuel.

We now descend to details, and our first inquiry will be from what port the expedition of Cæsar started. From the Rhine to the Seine there is scarcely a harbour or roadstead which has not at some time or other had its zealous advocates.³ Some writers have

¹ B. G. iii. 9.

² "Nascitur ibi plumbum album [tin] in mediterraneis regionibus; in *maritimis* ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copia: ære utuntur *importato*." — *Ib.* v. 12.

³ Mariette (in his *Lettre à M. Bouillet sur l'Article de Boulogne*, Paris, 1847) enumerates the different publications in favour of the various theories, and classes them as follows: —

In favour of Boulogne,	11;
Wissant,	5;
Calais,	5;
Etaples,	2 (13 miles S. of Boulogne on La Canche);
Mardick,	1 (3 miles S.W. of Dunkirk);
Authie,	1 (8 miles E. of the Somme, and 7 from La Canche).

thrown out a bold conjecture at random, and then endeavoured to bend the facts in accordance with their hypothesis. Others have taken only a partial view, and shut their eyes to circumstances which militated against their favourite position. Others have laboured under a misapprehension, from failing to catch the true sense of Cæsar's Commentaries. I will mention some of the most plausible theories, and dispose of them in a few words.

According to some, then, either *Dunkirk* or *Gravelines* was the place of embarkation. One objection lies against both of them, viz. that the passage to Britain, where Cæsar crossed, is said to have been only thirty miles¹; whereas Dunkirk and Gravelines are both of them much more. Besides, we are told that to the east of Cæsar's port of embarkation was another haven, eight miles off², and there is no such haven eight miles to the east of Dunkirk, though Dunkirk itself is only three leagues, or nine miles, from Gravelines.

The theory of *Calais* appears, at first sight, more plausible³, but we must not judge of Calais as it was by Calais as it is. It was never used, so far as we know, by the Romans, and accordingly no Roman remains have been discovered there. It was not even a walled town, until just before the capture of it by the English, in the reign of Edward the Third. The coun-

Thus the great preponderance of opinion is in favour of Boulogne. We have now to add the novel theory of the Astronomer Royal in favour of the estuary of the Somme.

¹ B. G. v. 2.

² B. G. iv. 22.

³ It has been suggested that Calais takes its name from *Calicius*, thought to have some affinity to *Portus Icius*, but the proper name of Calais in Latin is not *Calicius*, but *Caletum* or *Casletum*. (See *Mariette*, p. 22.)

try about it, too, is flat and marshy, and consequently unhealthy for an encampment, and the inhabitants suffer severely from want of salubrious water. The port, also, could never have been larger than at present, and could not, therefore, have contained 560, or if we reckon tenders 800, vessels, on the occasion of the second expedition. When I was at Calais in 1857, I walked round the whole port, including the wooden pier, and I could find room only at the utmost for 300 merchantmen. But Calais could not have been the place of embarkation for other reasons. It was not thirty miles from Britain, and had no haven to the east of it at the distance of eight miles. Gravelines, which is the nearest, is fifteen miles off.

Wissant, between Cape Grisnez and Cape Blancnez, was fixed upon as Cæsar's port, by the learned D'Anville¹; but, great as is the authority of that eminent geographer, his proposition is (under favour) wholly untenable. *Wissant* is no port at all, but only a sandy beach, four miles long, and the radius of curvature five and a half miles.² The chief arguments on which D'Anville relied were these: *first*, that the name of *Wissant* (the corruption of the Dutch Wit-sand

¹ Mémoire sur le Port Icius, imprimé dans le tome xxviii. p. 397, des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

² Archæolog. vol. xxxiv. p. 231. Mariette, a native or inhabitant of Boulogne, thus describes *Wissant*: — "Les caps Blanez et Grinez à peine distant l'un de l'autre de six à sept kilomètres, sont joint par une ligne de côtes, dont la courbe régulière et rentrante forme une petite baie tranquille, au fond de laquelle on trouve un village. *Wissant* n'est plus une ville; c'est tout au plus un village; c'est plutôt un hameau égaré dans un désert de sable." — p. 29. *Wissant* flourished as a port from A. D. 556 to A. D. 938. (Ib. p. 30.) There are the remains of a camp there, called Cæsar's Camp, but capable at the most of containing 500 men only. (Ib. p. 35, 38.) "Wis-

or White-sand) has some resemblance to Portus Itius¹, from which Cæsar sailed; and, *secondly*, that Cæsar, before embarking, marched down to the Morini, whence was the shortest passage into Britain², and that from Wissant to Dover is the directest line. But there is little similarity, even in sound, between Itius and Wissant or White-sand; and as for the argument that Cæsar took the *shortest* passage from Portus Itius, he tells us, as I conceive, the very reverse, for he selected Portus Itius, he says, because it was the *most convenient*, thereby implying that it was not the nearest port. He adds, also, that Portus Itius was thirty Roman miles from Britain³, whereas Wissant is not much above twenty Roman miles.

The only other theory which I shall examine is that which has been recently broached by the distinguished astronomer to whom I have already alluded, Professor Airy, who maintains that Cæsar set sail from the estuary of the *Somme*, and landed at Pevensy. Now I confess

sant n'eut guère de port véritable avant le milieu du x^e siècle, et jusque-là il avait dû se suffire avec le port naturel formé par l'embouchure du petit (ruisseau) *Rien de Sombre*, port moins utile que ceux de Sangatte et d'Ambleteuse qui étaient déjà florissants." — *Ib.* p. 32. "The bay of Wissant is a solitary expanse, a curve of some seven or eight miles."—*H. L. L.: Gent. Mag.* vol. xxvi. (1846) p. 254.

¹ There are various readings of the name. It sometimes appears as Itius, sometimes as Icius, and sometimes as Iccius. It is generally thought to be the same word as that applied by Ptolemy to Cape Grisnez, "Ἰκιον ἄκρον, and, if so, the true reading would be Portus *Icius*. On the other hand, Strabo speaks of τὸ Ἰριον (ed. Tauchnitz, iv. 5), which implies that the reading in his time was Itius; as this is the more received form, it is adopted in the text. As to the various readings, see Somner's *Portus Iccius*, p. viii.

² B. G. iv. 21.

³ B. G. v. 2.

myself under no little obligation to the Astronomer Royal for much additional light which he has thrown upon the subject, but from the hypothesis that Cæsar sailed from the estuary of the Somme I must dissent *toto cœlo*. It is at variance, as appears to me, with the whole of Cæsar's narrative; and, while it commands attention from the high reputation of its advocate, can never make many converts. The error lies, if I may say so, in an unlucky interpretation of some passages in the Commentaries, and I refer more particularly to the three following. The *first* is this: Cæsar, having resolved on the invasion, "goes with all his forces to the Morini, because thence was the shortest transit,"¹ from which it may be concluded that the port from which he sailed was at least in the country of the Morini; but as the Somme would not, according to the common notion, be within their borders, the Professor renders the Latin *proficiscitur* not "goes" but "sets out for," and supposes that Cæsar never actually reached the Morini. But a few lines farther, we find these words, "while Cæsar tarries *in these places in order to get the vessels ready*," &c.²; so that, evidently, Cæsar had not only set out for, but also arrived in, the country of the Morini. *Secondly*, on the occasion of the second expedition, Cæsar, speaking of himself in the third person, proceeds: "And he commands all to rendezvous at the Portus Itius, from which port he had found the passage into Britain the *most convenient*, being about thirty miles from the Continent."³ It is plain from this language that the

¹ B. G. iv. 21.

² "Dum in his locis Cæsar navium parandarum causa moratur."—*B. G.* iv. 22.

³ "Atque omnes ad Portum Itium convenire jubet, quo ex portu

traverse from Portus Itius was thirty miles, and, if so, it could not be that from the Somme to Pevensey, which is fifty-two nautical, or sixty statute, miles, not to mention that the estuary of a river cannot in strictness be called a port at all. - How, then, does the Professor deal with this difficulty? Why thus: he says that the thirty miles do not apply to the traverse from Portus Itius, but to the distance of Britain from the Continent generally. Now had Cæsar ever made such an assertion, he would have laboured under an evident mistake, as the distance from Britain to the Continent, i. e. from Dover to Cape Grisnez or Cape Blancnez, is only about twenty Roman miles; but Cæsar does not so state. The words "circiter millium passuum xxx," or about thirty Roman miles, belong, from their collocation and grammatical construction, to the traverse from Portus Itius (transjectum), and are not an observation (which would be very *mal à propos*) as to the distance of Britain from Gaul generally. In the latter case the writer would have said, not "circiter millium passuum xxx," but "circiter millia passuum xxx."¹ *Thirdly*, on the return from Britain to Gaul, two of the transports (being, I suppose, more heavily laden than the rest, and bad sailers) missed the

commodissimum in Britanniam transjectum esse cognoverat, circiter millium passuum xxx a continenti." — *B. G.* v. 2.

¹ Cæsar is more accurate than subsequent writers; for Diodorus Siculus makes the distance of Gaul from Britain twelve and a half miles only (*lib. v. c. 21*); Strabo, on the contrary, estimates the distance from Portus Itius of the Morini to Britain 320 stades, or forty miles (*Strab. iv. c. 5.*); and Pliny reckons the distance from Boulogne to Britain as much as fifty miles (*Plin. N. H. lib. iv. s. 30*); and Dion also states the distance of Gaul from Britain to be fifty miles (*Dion, xxxix. 50*).

Portus Itius for which they were bound, and, "*paullo infra* delatæ sunt," were borne away a little to the south¹, and the troops on landing were surrounded by the Morini, who attempted to cut them off. It is plain, therefore, that the coast to the south of Portus Itius was still in the country of the Morini, whereas the coast to the south of the estuary of the Somme would not be so, as the settlements of the Morini extended westward as far only as La Canche. What is the Astronomer Royal's answer to this objection? He is driven to the necessity of saying that "*paullo infra delatæ sunt*" means only that the ships were "carried down the wind!" Such an interpretation is, I venture to say, wholly inadmissible. Cæsar invariably uses the words "inferior" (v. 13), "superior" (iv. 28), "ulterior" (iv. 23), with reference to the points of the compass; and, considering himself as located at Rome, regards any departure from it towards the north as an ascent. There are other grave reasons against Airy's theory, but I pass them over for the present, as the force of them will be better appreciated hereafter, as we trace the progress of the invasion.

I have canvassed the opinions of the Astronomer Royal with the utmost freedom, and the only reparation I can make is to give him his revenge by bringing forward my own hypothesis. The port then from which Cæsar sailed was Boulogne.² All the arguments which have been urged against the other theories are so many

¹ B. G. iv. 36.

² Strabo says that Cæsar made the Seine his dockyard, "*ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυπήγιον συνεστήσατο Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς, πλέων εἰς τὴν Βρετανικὴν*" (lib. iv. 5), but Itium his sailing port, which he places amongst the Morini, "*Μορινῶν παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυσταθμῷ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς διαίρων εἰς νῆσον*" (lib. iv. 5).

confirmations of this. For instance, we have seen that Cæsar, in order to prepare for the expedition by collecting transports, marched into the country of the Morini, and Boulogne was not only *a* port, but was *the* port of the Morini¹; and, when Florus tells us that Cæsar sailed from *the port of the Morini*, he can only mean Boulogne, which was universally stamped with that character.² Calais, no doubt, was also on the coast of the Morini, but was comparatively unknown and insignificant, as is evident from the Roman military roads all converging, not to Calais, but to Gesoriacum or Boulogne.³ It was at the latter port that Claudius embarked for the invasion of Britain⁴, and here also it is generally understood that Caligula had intended to embark for a similar object, and did actually construct a pharos for the benefit of voyagers to and fro between Boulogne and Britain.⁵ Hence Lupicinus sailed by

¹ "Ultimos Gallicarum gentium Morinos, nec portu quem Gesoriacum vocant quicquam notius habet." — *Pomp. Mela*, iii. 2; "Μορινῶν Γησοριακὸν ἐπίνειον." — *Ptolem.* ii. 9. 3. "Hæc [Britain] abest a *Gessoriaco* Morinorum gentis *litore* proximo trajectu quinquaginta m." — *Plin. N. H.* iv. 30.

² "Quum tertia vigilia *Morino* solvisset *e Portu* minus quam medio die insulam ingressus est." — *Flor.* iii. 10.

³ The line of road is given in *Antonin. Itin.*, viz. from Bagacum (Bavay) to Castellum (Cassel), and thence to Taruenna (Térouenne), and thence to Gesoriacum or Bononia (now Boulogne). It is stated by Mariette, that, from coins found upon the road, it appears to have been made by Agrippa in B.C. 27; and, if so, Boulogne must have been the usual port of that coast at least very soon after Cæsar's time. See *Mariette*, p. 47.

⁴ "A Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto inde transmisit." — *Suet. Claud.* 17. That Claudius also took large supplies with him, see *Dion.* ix. 21.

⁵ *Suet. Calig.* 46. It is certain that until about 100 years ago

command of the Emperor Julian¹, and Theodosius by command of Valentinian²; hence also Constantius Chlorus³; and hence, in A. D. 893, the Danes crossed to the mouth of the Lymen.⁴ But further, I have already called attention to the distinguishing mark of the Portus Itius, that it was thirty Roman miles, or twenty-seven and a half English miles, from the shores of Britain, and that is just the distance of Boulogne from Folkestone. Certainly the advertisements of the South-Eastern Railway Company state Boulogne to be only twenty-six miles from Folkstone, but measurement is one thing and railway advertisement another. I asked one of the Company's own officials at Folkestone whether twenty-six miles was the actual distance, and he candidly confessed that it was considerably more. But there is another remarkable feature which identifies Boulogne as the Portus Itius. When Cæsar sailed on his first expedition eighteen transports were detained by contrary winds at a haven eight miles⁵ higher up, or more to the north.⁶ When I turned my attention to this subject I was soon satisfied, on numerous independent grounds, that Boulogne must be the port from which Cæsar sailed, but I was not then aware how far it would answer to the requisite

there stood at Boulogne a Roman pharos which would exactly answer to that of Caligula. See a description of it in Dr. Bertrand's *History of Boulogne*. It will be seen depicted in the old map inserted in this work.

¹ Ammian. Marc. cited Mon. Hist. Brit. p. lxxiii.

² Ibid.

³ Eumenius in Paneg. in Constant. Cæs. c. 14.

⁴ Anglo-Saxon Chron. A.D. 893.

⁵ "XVIII onerariæ naves, quæ ex eo loco millibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent."—*B. G.* iv. 22.

⁶ "Ulteriorem portum."—iv. 22.



of having another port eight miles to the north. I was walking one morning, on my return from the Continent, along the long wooden pier of Calais, when I fell into conversation with two French curés, and I broached the subject of Cæsar's invasion. I found them the most unprejudiced witnesses, for they had no acquaintance with the classics, and took no interest in the matter! I asked them if there were any haven some eight miles from Calais, and they told me that Gravelines was the nearest, which I understood to be about fifteen miles. I then repeated the same inquiry with reference to Boulogne, when they told me that Ambleteuse, though now only used for small craft, had formerly been a port of much greater consequence, as was attested by the remains of ancient works there. On returning to the hotel I questioned the landlord about the distance of Ambleteuse from Boulogne, and he said two leagues and a half, which would make eight Roman miles.¹ From subsequent investigation I find that Louis XIV. had proposed to make Ambleteuse a port of first-rate excellence, and that Napoleon afterwards entertained a similar project, but that both undertakings were eventually abandoned.² It is almost

¹ "Ambleteuse est à 8000 pas [8 miles] environ de Boulogne, et la rade d'Ambleteuse est encore à 8000 pas."—*Mariette*, p. 63. The same writer thus speaks of the port: "La Canche à Quantavicus, la Liane à Gesoriacum, la Slacq à Ambleteuse, formaient déjà des ports plus grands" (*Ib.* 33); and a writer in the *Gent. Mag.* speaks of it as follows: "The embouchure of a little channel for draining the valley forms at present the little harbour of Ambleteuse."—*H. L. L.: Gent. Mag.* vol. xxvi. (1846) p. 252.

² In the sixth century, Ambleteuse was noted for its trade and fortifications. In 1209 (when it was rebuilt after its destruction by the northern barbarians) excavations were made to form a port. In 1544, Henry the Eighth used it as a general depot for

unnecessary to mention that James II., on abdicating the English throne, landed at Ambleteuse.

It may be thought a slight circumstance, but is not to be passed unnoticed, that Cæsar more than once speaks of *Ports* in the plural number¹, and this is exactly the case if we assume Cæsar's rendezvous to have been at Boulogne; for then, not only was there the little port of Ambleteuse eight miles off, but also a still smaller one at Wimereux², lying between Ambleteuse and Boulogne. Thus while the body of the fleet was assembled at Boulogne, some supernumeraries, particularly the smaller craft, would be lying at the two subordinate havens.

Another argument in favour of Boulogne, which has considerable weight, arises from the name itself of Portus Itius. It is true that the identical word nowhere else occurs in history; but Ptolemy, the famous geographer, in describing this part of the coast, calls Cape Grisnez, Cape Icius.³ Even if the true

warlike stores, when it became one of the safest and finest ports in the channel. A few years after it was taken by the French, and the fortifications rased. In 1680 Louis XIV. determined on restoring the port, and intrusted the work to the celebrated Vauban, when the sluice of the Slacq was made, and a basin dug and a pier added, but the full plan was never completed. In 1803 the right wing of Napoleon's grand army was stationed here, and the port and basin were cleared out. At present the village has a ruinous aspect, wearing only the tattered remnant of pristine splendour." — *Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne*.

¹ B. G. iv. 36. v. 8.

² "At a short distance from Boulogne, on the coast, is the Port of Wimereux, formed by the mouth of the river bearing the same name. Half a league up the river is the village of Wimille." — *Bertrand's History of Boulogne*. The relative positions of Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Wimereux will be seen upon the old map.

³ "Μετὰ τὰς τοῦ Σηκοῦνα ποταμοῦ [Seine] ἐκβολὰς Φρονῦδιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ Ἴκιον ἄκρον." — ii. 9, 1.

reading of the port in Cæsar be Itius, the two names are very near to each other, and I believe all writers are agreed that they must be taken to be the same word. If this be so, how strong is the presumption that Boulogne must be the Portus Icius, for, with the exception of the comparatively small havens of Ambleteuse and Wimereux, it is the nearest port to Cape Icius. Assuming Cape Grisnez to be Cape Icius, it can hardly be supposed that the estuary of the Somme, as Airy suggests, can be the Portus Icius, when Boulogne, which is, and always has been, a port of much greater celebrity, intervenes between the Somme and the Cape. The very name also of Itius, Icius, or Iccius, may still be traced in the vicinity of Boulogne. A little above the town is the village of Isques, at Pont de Briques.¹ This bridge is of great antiquity, and till recently was the only one connecting the two banks of the Liane, and stood² in ancient times

¹ “ Un petit village, assis agréablement sur la rive gauche de la Liane, à quelques pas de Boulogne et de l'embouchure de cette rivière, annonce même des prétensions à porter encore le nom de l'Icius de César: c'est le village d'Isques, nom moderne qui paraît être un dérive assez naturel du substantif latin. Interrogez les habitans de ce village, et ils vous diront que la tradition du passage de César est encore vivante parmi eux, que la mer montait autrefois jusque à Isques, comme elle y monterait encore maintenant sous les moulins à eau du Pont de Briques et le Pont de l'Ecluse de Boulogne, et que le lit de la Liane, bien plus large et plus profond qu'aujourd'hui formait un port d'un abord facile, et d'autant plus sûr qu'il était protégé du vent par des côteaux voisins.”—*Mariette*, p. 24. This writer, who as a Boulognese seems a little jealous of Isques, yet admits that the name may have been derived from Portus Icius. The town was at all events known in the 9th century; for he adds in a note, “ Isques, sous le nom d'Iska, existait avant les invasions des Normands au ix^e siècle.”—*Harbaville, Mémoires Hist. et Archæol.* t. ii. p. 80.

² It is so placed in the old map; and in Bertrand's *Hist.*

at the head of the estuary. Thus Isques would naturally give its name to the port below. Napoleon, when at Boulogne superintending the preparations for the invasion of England, is said to have fixed his head-quarters at Pont de Briques¹, and as great commanders would be acted upon by similar influences, what more probable than that Cæsar also should have pitched the prætorian tent at Isques, and then have spoken of the port below as Portus Icius?

I cannot help adding that the very circumstance of Napoleon's selection of Boulogne for his port of embarkation is a strong argument for referring Cæsar's expedition to the same spot. Both generals had the same object in view, and were at the head of powerful armies, and had collected a numerous flotilla. If Cæsar had 800 vessels², Napoleon had 1300 at Boulogne alone.³ If Cæsar made use of a port eight miles to the north of Portus Itius, and another yet nearer⁴, Napoleon quartered one division of his army, with a squadron of vessels, at Ambleteuse, and another at Wimereux.⁵ If Cæsar's ships were all flat-bottomed, in order that they might float in shallow water, and be more expeditiously freighted⁶, Napoleon adopted the very same principle for the very same reason, so that his vast fleet, even exceeding that of Cæsar, was accommodated in the harbour and river of Boulogne, and yet was so conveniently stowed, that,

of Boulogne, it is said anciently to have stood at the head of the estuary.

¹ Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne.

² B. G. v. 8.

³ Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne.

⁴ B. G. iv. 22.

⁵ See Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne.

⁶ "Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque." — B. G. v. 1.

on a rehearsal of the embarkation, by way of experiment, the whole army was put on board in the course of one hour and a half.¹ Had we the details of Cæsar's armament, as of Napoleon's, the resemblance might, no doubt, be traced further, but this will suffice for our purpose.

The Astronomer Royal observes, as an objection to Boulogne, that 5000 men could not have been shipped from it at a single tide; but, if the whole of Napoleon's army could be put on board in an hour and a half, it was surely not beyond the reach of Cæsar's genius to clear one half of that number from the port during the interval between one low water and another. I do not know that there would have been any difficulty about it²; however, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further, as Cæsar nowhere says that he did ship off his whole fleet in a single tide. No doubt they all started at once from their anchorage at the mouth of the port, but they might have quitted the port itself before anchoring outside, in as many tides as their number required.

Time and place are said to be the two eyes of history; and, now that we have fixed the *place* of embarkation, we proceed to determine the *time*; and, if I am not mistaken, you will be surprised to find with what accuracy this point can be settled.

The expedition was in the consulship of Cneius

¹ See Bertrand's Hist. of Boulogne.

² In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 893, is the following passage: — "In this year the great army about which we formerly spoke came again from the Eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne, and there was shipped; so that they came over in one passage (ænne rið), horses and all, and they came to land at Limene mouth with 250 ships."

Pompey and M. Crassus¹, and was, therefore, certainly in B.C. 55. The season of the year is expressly mentioned to have been when little of summer remained², and we are, therefore, at once prepared to place it somewhere about August. But we can advance a step further; for repeated allusions, on Cæsar's arrival in Britain, are made to the harvest as still continuing³, but drawing towards its conclusion⁴; and we all know that in Kent and Sussex the harvest month is August. But again, Cæsar returned from Britain a little before the equinox⁵, which the ancients reckoned to be 24th September, and his stay in Britain was, as we shall see hereafter, little more than three weeks, and this confirms the deduction from other data, that the voyage was in August. But we can tell the very day of his embarkation, for Cæsar informs us that on the fourth day of his arrival in Britain (the day of arrival included) occurred the full moon⁶; and, as the harvest was nearly over, it must have been the full moon (if there was one) late in August. We turn to De Morgan's *Book of Almanacks*, which gives us the full moons from 2000 years B.C. to 2000 A.D., and we find that in B.C. 55, the year in question, the full moon was on the night of

¹ B. G. iv. 1.

² "Exigua parte æstatis reliqua."—B. G. iv. 20.

³ "Frumentum ex aquis in castra quotidie (Cæsar) conferebat."—B. G. iv. 31.

⁴ "Omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, una pars erat reliqua."—B. G. iv. 32.

⁵ "Propinqua die æquinoctii."—B. G. iv. 36.

⁶ "Post diem quartam quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves xviii . . . leni vento solverunt. . . . Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena."—B. G. iv. 28, 29. "Post diem quartam" means the fourth day current, including the day of the arrival as the first. Thus, "Neque te illo die, neque postero vidi, . . . post diem tertiam veni," &c.—Cic. *Philip.* ii. 35.

Wednesday the 30th August, or, to speak strictly, at 3 A.M. in the morning of Thursday the 31st August. This may be received as a fact capable of mathematical demonstration, and has, therefore, been assumed by all commentators as a fixed point. The fourth day before the full moon was, therefore, Sunday the 27th August, on which day, consequently, Cæsar reached Britain; and, as he had set sail the night before, he of course started on Saturday the 26th August.

I need scarcely mention that Boulogne is a tidal harbour, in other words, that it can only be entered or quitted at high water, or at least not at low water. Now, to ascertain the state of the tide, we have only to determine the moon's age. At Boulogne it is high water at full moon at 11.20, and, as the tide is 48 minutes earlier every preceding day, it follows that on 26th August, B.C. 55, being the fifth day before the full moon (the day of full moon included), it was high water about 8 P.M. At this time then, or an hour or two previously, the ships would be rapidly dropping down from the harbour and anchoring outside, ready to sail at the word of command.¹ Many hours would be consumed in emptying the port of its crowd of transports, and the fleet would scarcely be under weigh before midnight. But we are not left to conjecture on this head, as Cæsar tells us that he started about the third watch, i.e. about twelve o'clock at night²; and the

¹ It seems to be a general notion that Cæsar sailed at high water or at the ebbing of the flood, and this would be true if it be meant that his ships then dropped down from the harbour: but it would not be true in the sense of actually weighing anchor on his voyage across the channel; for, as he did not set sail until midnight, high water would by that time have been long past. “Ἐπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμπώτεως.” — *Appian*, cited *Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. 50. “Ταῦς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι.” — *Ib.*

² “Tertia fere vigilia.” — *B. G.* iv. 23.

moon, which had been long up, was nearly at the full, and would thus facilitate both the embarkation and passage.

While Cæsar is crossing the channel let us form an estimate of the invader's force. He tells us that he took with him two legions, the 7th and the celebrated 10th, in eighty transports.¹ A legion, in theory, consisted of ten cohorts, and each cohort of three maniples, and each manipule of two centuries, so that, if a century contained, as it was supposed to do, 100 men, the total number in a legion would be 6000. But, in fact, a legion had seldom if ever its full strength, and usually consisted of about 4,200 men, so that Cæsar's two legions on this occasion would probably not exceed 8,400. We may arrive at much the same result by another process. Of his eighty transports, Cæsar lost twelve in Britain, which would reduce them to sixty-eight. Two of them, on their return to Gaul, were drifted beyond the port for which they were bound, and the troops on board were obliged to land some way off to the south, and it is incidentally mentioned that these two transports carried together 300 men, or 150 each.² Now, if every one of the sixty-eight vessels was freighted with the same number, the total amount would be 10,200; but the two unlucky transports may have been thrown out of their course from being the most heavily laden, and if so it may well be supposed that the whole army was not much above 8,400. Professor Airy assumes 8000, and this calculation cannot be very wide of the truth.³

¹ "Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis, contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas legiones transportandas existimabat."—*B. G.* iv. 22.

² *B. G.* iv. 37.

³ A writer of the fourth century observes: "C. Cæsar cum decem

As to the cavalry we are much more at a loss for data. Cæsar had altogether in Gaul eight legions and 4000 horse¹, which would give 500 horse for each legion. This calculation would yield for the two legions which passed into Britain a complement of 1000 cavalry. This inference, however, would be unjust, as in any expedition the relative ratios of infantry and cavalry were extremely variable, and depended altogether on circumstances. Thus in the following year Cæsar left three legions only in Gaul and 2000 horse, and took with him to Britain five legions and yet only 2000 horse.² If indeed we might judge of the number of cavalry in the first invasion from that employed in the second, then as five legions were accompanied with 2000 horse, two legions would require 800 horse. All that we can say with certainty is that the cavalry did not exceed the number, whatever it was, which could be conveyed in eighteen vessels; for we have already had occasion to mention that eighteen transports were wind-bound at Ambleteuse, and so unable to reach Boulogne, and that Cæsar ordered the cavalry, as the more movable body, to ride over to Ambleteuse, and, embarking there, to follow him with all speed.³ If these eighteen transports were of equal burden with the rest, then as we know that two ships carried 300 men, or 150 each, and a vessel which could be freighted with 150 men would take from forty to fifty horses, say forty-five⁴, we may infer that the eighteen ships conveyed about 800 cavalry, so

legionibus quæ quaterna millia Italorum habuerant, per annos octo ab alpihus ad Rhenum usque Gallias subegit, . . . in Britanniam transivit."—*Rufus Sextus*, cited *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxi.

¹ B. G. v. 5.

² B. G. v. 8.

³ B. G. iv. 23.

⁴ Horsley's Britain.

that the force which accompanied the expedition may be reckoned at about that amount.

It may appear a step of singular boldness that Cæsar should have attempted the conquest of the island with such inadequate means; but it must be remembered that Cæsar, with all his exertions, had been unable to obtain any reliable information, and that he could not tell whether the approaching struggle was to be with a nation of heroes or a hive of drones.

We left Cæsar and his fleet under sail from Boulogne. The transports for the soldiers were eighty in number; but besides these there were a few fast-sailing war-galleys, or triremes, Cæsar himself embarking in one of them, and distributing the rest amongst the officers of his army, the Quæstor, the Legates, and the Prefects.¹ The wind must have been favourable, for as the ships at Ambleteuse had been prevented by it from sailing to Boulogne it was blowing from the S. W., and was, therefore, just what was desirable for a passage from Boulogne to Britain.

The object of Cæsar's starting at twelve o'clock at night was, apparently, that he might land by morning, and so have the whole day before him for military operations. Accordingly, at 10 A. M. (or the fourth hour, as the Romans always reckoned from 6 A. M.) on 27th August, Cæsar was off the coast of Britain. What part of the coast was it? Cæsar had embarked from the country of the Morini because they were nearest to Britain², and he tells us in another place that Kent, the eastern corner of the island, was the place for which ships from Gaul were commonly bound.³

¹ "Quæstori legatis præfectisque distribuit." — *B. G.* iv. 22.

² *B. G.* v. 2.

³ "Hujus lateris [the south] alter angulus qui est ad Cantium,

We should suppose, therefore, that Cæsar followed the usual track, and made for one of the ports which then as now were the most frequented, viz. Dover or Folkestone. Indeed we are told as much by Dion, who says that Cæsar sailed *from* the usual port *to* the usual port, but that he could not land at the latter because it had been preoccupied by the enemy.¹ And it may be added, that, unless he pursued the usual track, how could the Britons have known where to encounter the debarcation? But let us hear Cæsar himself, who has drawn a sketch of the coast such as it presented itself on his first approach. "The nature of the place," he says, "was on this wise: the sea was so hemmed in by confined *mountains* that a javelin could be thrown from the higher ground upon the shore."² Quintus Cicero, the brother of Mark Tully, and one of the generals in Cæsar's army on the second expedition, describes, in his letters home, the outposts of Britain as defended by *stupendous masses* of natural bulwarks.³ To what part of Albion can this description answer, but to the high chalk cliffs frowning between Sandgate and the South Foreland, which do indeed so hem in the sea that the idea of a hostile

quo fere ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem spectat."—*B. G.* v. 13.

¹ "Καὶ τὸν μὲν διέκπλουν καθ' ὃ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡ ἔδει προσέσχεν, οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ, τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθόμενοι, τὰς κατάρσεις ἀπάσας τὰς πρὸ τῆς ἡπείρου οὔσας προκατέλαβον."—*Dion*, xxxix. 51. How accurately the words describe Dover and Folkestone!

² "Cujus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset."—*B. G.* iv. 23.

³ "Constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus."—*Cic. Ep. Att.* iv. 16.

descent there, in the face of an enemy, would be military madness. Airy would have us believe that these "mountains" and "stupendous masses" are to be found near Hastings; but as the Astronomer Royal bases his supposition on the assumption that Cæsar sailed from the Somme, which we have shown to be untenable, we need not here discuss the matter with him further.

If Cæsar was disappointed at seeing the natural features of the country, he was probably much more so at another sight which riveted his gaze; the landing-places at the ports were bristling with hostile spears¹, and the heights above, also, were covered with troops, not rude savages, but in good martial array.² The merchants had studiously kept back from the Romans all information of British affairs; but every movement of the invaders had been instantly transmitted from Gaul to Britain, and the consequence was, that, rapidly as the Roman legions had been collected and transports provided, the islanders, or at least the inhabitants of Kent, with no doubt their compatriots of Sussex, had assembled *en masse* to oppose the descent. Cæsar, with his officers, had preceded the rest of the fleet for the very purpose of preparing for the debarkation, of examining the coast, and taking measures accordingly while the transports were coming up. To effect a landing then and there would, of course, be giving an immense and unnecessary advantage to the enemy, and he would not run the risk. He, therefore, lay at anchor until all the transports had arrived, and spent the interval in sum-

¹ Dion, xxxix. 51.

² "Atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias firmatas conspexit." — *B. G.* iv. 23.

moning his officers together, and explaining his views. It would seem that Cæsar, like Wellington and all great commanders, kept his counsels to himself until the moment of action; it was only now, for the first time, that he produced the survey made by Volusenus, pointed out the mode of attack, and assigned to every one his allotted post.¹

By 3 o'clock in the afternoon (called by the Romans the ninth hour) the whole fleet was assembled; and we may here observe, by the way, that, as from Boulogne to Dover is in round numbers twenty-eight miles, and Cæsar himself, in a war-galley, had been ten hours on the way, viz. from twelve at night to ten in the morning, the average speed would be nearly three miles an hour. The transports, on the other hand, had consumed fifteen hours on the passage, viz. from twelve at night to three in the afternoon, which yields an average of only about two miles an hour.²

It was at 3 o'clock, then, in the afternoon, on Sunday, the 27th August, A.D. 55, that Cæsar weighed anchor from before Dover, preparatory to disembarking; and now comes the important and much-agitated question: Which way did he sail; to the left or right, to the west or east? Let us first consider, *à priori*, what a prudent commander might be expected to do under similar circumstances. The usual ports in front of him were preoccupied and impracticable. To the right he would see the precipitous chalk cliffs stretching away to the east till they terminated at the South Foreland, when he would lose sight of land altogether, and only

¹ B. G. iv. 23.

² According to Appian, the voyage from Gaul to Britain was half a day, or twelve hours: “Ἔστι δ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμισυ ἡμέρας.” — Appian, cited *Monum. Hist. Brit.* 50.

the broad expanse of ocean would meet his eye. The lowlands about Walmer or Deal would not be visible ; and it is at least doubtful whether Volusenus had included them in his survey. On his left was a very different prospect ; for, tracing the line of cliffs westward, he could not fail to observe that they terminated at Sandgate, and that a broad level plain there succeeded. I need not produce arguments to show how peculiarly favourable to a hostile descent is the great marsh lying between Sandgate and Rye. The bones that are piled in the crypt of Hythe church (a mass twenty-eight feet long, six broad, and eight high) bear witness of the fierce encounters which have there taken place between the Britons and their invaders on the British Armageddon ; and the martello towers that still line the shore, and the defensive military canal carried along the edge of the marsh, attest the well-founded apprehension in our own day, that here, if ever, the Continental hosts will attempt a burglarious entry into the islanders' home. It was also late in the day with Cæsar, and, as the sun would set at seven, he had only four hours to choose his ground and effect a landing. But there is another consideration arising out of the plan of operations which he had just unfolded to his officers. The enemy were in such numbers that to force a descent with only 8,000 men in their presence was, if not a desperate, yet a dangerous, undertaking. His object, therefore, was, by the rapidity of his movements, to outstrip his foes, and disembark a sufficient number of troops before they could come up.¹ It was

¹ "Ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur." — *B. G.* iv. 23. "Εφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμφορῆθειαν εἰλεῖν." — *Dion*, xxxix. 51.

absolutely necessary, therefore, that he should take advantage of the tide, or, at all events, that he should not mar his designs by stemming a strong current.

But we need not theorise upon the subject, as Cæsar gives us incidentally a piece of information which is conclusive. "Having got," he says, "the wind and *the tide* at the same time in his favour, he gave the signal and hoisted anchor, and, advancing about eight miles from that place, he brought his ships to at an open and level shore."¹ Thus he certainly sailed *with the tide*, and, if we can only discover the direction of the tide, we shall know which way Cæsar turned the head of his vessel. Now it may seem at first sight a somewhat difficult problem to calculate the current of the Channel at 3 o'clock on a particular day nearly 2,000 years ago; but the phenomena of nature are unchangeable, and I shall satisfy you that the question can be solved with little trouble and with the greatest exactness. The tides, it is well known, occur twice in the twenty-four hours, and each time about twenty-four minutes later, so that the corresponding tide on each successive day is forty-eight minutes later²: thus, if it be high water at Dover to-day at 12 o'clock at noon, it will be high water there to-morrow at twelve minutes before 1 P.M. After a cycle of fourteen days, these tides recur in the same order of succession. The reason is that the new moon and full moon both act upon the ocean in a similar manner; and, during the interval between the

¹ "Et ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum VIII ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit."—*B. G.* iv. 23.

² The Tidal Tables say fifty minutes per day. "The mean interval of time between two consecutive high waters is about 12h. 25m."—*Tidal Tables for 1859*, p. 99.

new moon and full moon, and, of course, equally between the full moon and new moon, the tide runs the whole round of ebb and flow until it returns back to the same hour. The period of one lunation, or one revolution of the moon round the earth, is twenty-nine days and a half, so that from new moon to full, and again from full moon to new, is, in strictness, not fourteen days, but fourteen days and three quarters. It is evident from this that, in order to find the time of high water for any particular day, we need only determine the time of it at new or full moon, and the intervening periods of ebb and flow can then be ascertained by allowing forty-eight minutes per diem from the last new or full moon. Accordingly, the tables of the tides are usually calculated for the new and full moons only. However, there are slight disturbing influences which in some degree vary the general rule, and, to enable the mariner to follow them without difficulty, there are published annually, under the direction of the Admiralty, "The Tidal Tables for the English and Irish Ports,"¹ which show at a glance when it is high water at the principal places round the coasts of England and Ireland for every day in the year.

In speaking of the tides we must distinguish between the landsman's tide and the seaman's tide. The landsman standing on the shore, beholds the water rise and fall, and thinks of the tide with reference to its height and depression only, whereas the seaman cares little for the rise or fall, which he does not see, but is very attentive to the current caused by the tide, which aids or impedes the progress of his vessel. The direction of

¹ Published by J. O. Potter, 31, Poultry, London ; and 11, King Street, Tower Hill, London.

the current is as regular as the rise and fall of the tide, but both are subject to occasional disturbances from the action of the wind or the state of the atmosphere. These variations, however, it is believed, seldom if ever exceed an hour either in the time of high or low water, or of the turn of the current. As the British Channel is so constantly covered by the mercantile navy of England, great pains have been taken to ascertain the turn of the tide in this part. We are here concerned only with that in the Straits of Dover, and I shall, therefore, content myself with stating the rule laid down for the guidance of mariners in the annual referred to. The Admiralty direction then is, that the stream off Dover sets westward at four hours after high water, and runs west for the next seven hours, and then turns eastward and runs so for the next five hours.¹ Thus, to ascertain the current or direction of the tide at Dover, we find first the time of high water there, and four hours after that the stream begins to run west, and will so continue for seven hours, when it will again turn east, and run so for the next five hours. We have now to apply this principle to the year B. C. 55. The full moon was on the 31st of August at 3 A. M. I turn to the Tide Tables published by authority for the month of August of the present year,

¹ "About one mile S.S.E. of the South Foreland Lighthouse, the stream begins to set to the eastward about 1h. 30m. before high-water on the shore at Dover, and runs from N.E. by E. to E. N.E. about five and a half hours, or till *four hours after high water*. It then turns and sets W.S.W. quarter W. about seven hours. At Dover the flowing stream very seldom continues more than five hours, and sometimes scarcely so much. It is nearly the same at Ramsgate. To the northward of the South Foreland the streams change their direction to N.E. half N., and S.W. half S."⁵—*Potter's Tide Tables*, 1859, p. 110.

1859, and I find that the moon will be at the full on the 13th of August. As regards the moon, therefore, the 31st of August, B.C. 55, and 13th of August, 1859, are corresponding days. To find, then, the time of high water at Dover on the 27th of August, B.C. 55, when Cæsar arrived (being the fourth day before the 31st of August, when was the full), we have only to look for the time of high water at Dover on the 9th of August, 1859, being the fourth day before the 13th of August, when will be the full. High water at Dover on the 9th of August, 1859, will, according to the Tables, be at 7.31 A.M. It was, therefore, high water at 7.31 A.M. at Dover on the 27th of August, B.C. 55. But at four hours after high water the tide runs west, and so continues for seven hours; therefore, at 11.31 A.M., on the 27th of August, B.C. 55, the stream began to run west, and held on in the same direction until 6.31 P.M.¹ At 3 o'clock, therefore, on the 27th of August, B.C. 55, the current was flowing westward at its maximum velocity, and consequently, as Cæsar sailed at 3 o'clock on the 27th of August, B.C. 55, in the same direction as the tide, he must have steered westward toward Romney Marsh, and could not possibly have made for Deal.²

¹ Lieutenant Burstal does not differ much, for he computes "that during the interval between 12.40 and 6.50 P.M. of Aug. 27th (B. C. 55), the stream was setting to the westward, and therefore if Cæsar weighed anchor at 3.30 P.M. the stream was setting to the W.S.W."—*Dunkin's Hist. of Kent*, vol. ii. 73.

² As the place of debarcation depends altogether on the direction of the tide at 3 o'clock P.M. on 27th of August, B. C. 55,—that is, the fourth day before the full moon, which was on August 31st at 3 A.M.,—it may be as well to see the range of the tide for every day before full moon throughout the current year 1859. From the

But Cæsar tells us in the passage I have quoted, that he had not only the tide, but also the *wind* in his favour, and this may possibly suggest an apparent objection — viz., that if the wind was in his favour in coming from Boulogne to Dover, it must have been in the south or west; and then, if it still continued in that quarter, and Cæsar sailed before it, he must have steered to the east. But, in the first place, supposing the wind to have blown from the south, it would have been favourable to a movement, from a point opposite Dover, either to the east or west. However, I would rather offer an explanation, which will convert the objection into an argument the other way; viz. that the wind had, in fact, veered round since the passage from Boulogne. Thus, Cæsar says that he started from his anchorage off Dover, having *got* the wind in his favour, and the Latin word *nactus* implies that the wind had under-

Tide Tables it will be seen that on January 14th, being the fourth day before the full moon, high water at Dover is at 5.31 A. M.

February 13	6.13
March 14	6. 8
April 13	7.13
May 12	6.55
June 11	7.20
July 11	7.55
August 9	7.31
September 8	8.27
October 7	7.47
November 6	7.44
December 6	7.31

Thus the earliest high water at Dover is at 5.31 A. M., and the latest at 8.27 A. M., and as the stream turns west at four hours after high water and continues for seven hours, it turns at the earliest at 9.31 A. M. and runs till 4.31 P. M. and turns at the latest at 12.27 P. M. and runs till 7.27 P. M. In no case, therefore, would the tide be running east at 3 P. M.

gone a change. And this conclusion is strongly evidenced by another circumstance, which, except on this supposition, is inexplicable. When he embarked at Boulogne he despatched the cavalry to Ambleteuse, eight miles off, with orders to follow him with all haste¹; but, much to Cæsar's disappointment, they did not leave that haven for Britain until the fourth day after², and no plausible reason can be given for this except that, for the whole of this interval, the wind was contrary; that is, the wind had shifted.

At 3 o'clock P.M., on Sunday 27th August, B.C. 55, Cæsar quitted his moorings before Dover, and sailed to the west. For six or seven miles he had on his right the beetling bulwarks of the island, the precipitous cliffs. The cavalry and charioteers of the Britons, followed by the infantry, might be seen at the same time moving along the heights and keeping pace with the fleet, and ready to encounter the enemy in any attempt at debarcation. On nearing Sandgate, and between that place and Hythe, Cæsar would see the cliffs retiring inland, and leaving a narrow triangular strip of level ground between themselves and the sea. Here it may be thought, perhaps, that Cæsar landed, but a little reflection will lead to a different conclusion. As you stand on the high cliffs and look down upon this triangular plain, the extent of it appears sufficient to accommodate a small army, but not so as you sail along the coast. On reaching it, as I rowed from Dover to Hythe, I immediately concluded in my own

¹ "Equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, ac se sequi jussit: ab quibus cum paullo tardius esset administratum," &c. — *B. G.* iv. 23.

² "Post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum." — *B. G.* iv. 28.

mind that the Roman eagles could never have alighted here from want of space. The cliffs, too, in the background are so near as to give an enemy an immense advantage, and the seashore could scarcely be called *apertum littus*. The only temptation to place the landing on this spot is, that at the eastern corner rises the brow of Shorncliffe, a high platform (which has ever been, and is still, a favourite military station); and, at the south-western corner of Shorncliffe, and therefore overlooking the triangular plain, is an ancient Roman camp, which, of course, passes for Cæsar's camp. I cannot think, however, that it has in reality any connection with Cæsar. His camp on this occasion was apparently on the sea-beach, so as to give protection to the war-galleys drawn up on land. We know also that the Britons had a full view of it, as they despised its narrow dimensions; but, if perched on the edge of Shorncliffe, it could scarcely have been made the subject of minute examination. The shore also just beneath Shorncliffe is anything but *molle* or soft¹, as the rocks here rise abruptly out of the waves. Cæsar then sailed by this triangular strip, and rounding the precipitous cliffs which had so long defied him², came to the creek of Limne.

But here, to make myself intelligible, I must notice the extraordinary changes which have occurred in this part of the coast. I am not at all disposed to believe in general the large and loose statements frequently broached as to the alterations of the earth's surface within the memory of man. I was, therefore, at first very incredulous as to the assertions respecting

¹ B. G. v. 9.

² "Ακραν τινὰ περιπλεύσας." — *Dion*, xxxix. 51.

the growth of *terra firma* in this quarter, but I am satisfied from personal observation that the sea here has to a great extent retired, and that what is related upon the subject may not improbably be the truth. Possibly the whole of Romney Marsh may in antediluvian times have been covered by the sea, and have been gradually formed by the accumulation of shingle through countless ages; at least, wherever I visited the military canal which laves the foot of the elevated border round the marsh, the soil, which has been excavated, is decidedly the same shingle as is still cast up by the tide. It is said that Dungeness Point advances from this accretion about seven feet annually. But to pass from the period of the Ichthyosauri to that of the first century before Christ, of which we are speaking, the marsh, though its general configuration must have been the same then as at present, yet presented in some respects very different features. Instead of one regular curvilinear line from Sandgate to Dungeness, there were two inlets which have since been silted up. The first was at Romney, where originally was the mouth of the river Rother, and by which the Danes on one occasion ascended as far as Appledore. The port was first at Old Romney, and then, as the sea retreated, at New Romney, and then, when the Rother (from the effect, it is said, of inundations during a fearful storm) was diverted from its channel, and entered the sea at Rye, the port of Romney ceased altogether; and, at the present day, no one who did not examine the ground very curiously, would dream that such a haven had ever existed. The other inlet, with which we are more immediately concerned, was that between Dymchurch and Hythe, and extended inland as far Lympne or Limne. Indeed, the name

of Limne signifies in the old British a haven¹, and corresponds to the Greek word λιμήν, a port; and Ptolemy's *καινὸς λιμήν*, is commonly thought to mean Limne.² The strong south-easterly winds (for Dungeness Point is a shelter from the coast) gradually choked up the port of Limne, and the haven then shifted more to the east, where West Hythe now stands. But the same causes still operated, and West Hythe in its turn became deserted by the sea, and then the haven was transferred to Hythe. This was in the time of the Saxons, for Hythe in Saxon is the same as Limne in British and Greek, and signifies a harbour. The historical testimony that Limne and West Hythe and Hythe have been successively havens at the end of the bay or inlet is unexceptionable, and indeed skeletons of vessels have been dug up at Limne where now is a rich pasture. But *Non vedo non credo*, "Seeing is believing;" and if any one doubt of this metamorphosis from sea to *terra firma*, let him walk from Hythe, as I have done, to the heights overlooking the marsh, and he will observe the plain below him lying in ridges or waves, as if the ocean had only just quitted its embrace. Even in the eighth century Leland speaks of Hythe in the following terms:—"The haven is a pretty road and lyeth meetly straight out of Boulogne. It crooketh so by the shore along, and is so backed from the main sea by shingle, that small ships may come up a large mile as in a sure gut."³ On looking at the old maps⁴ of

¹ Lambarde's *Perambul.* 184.

² Ptolemy, ii. 3, 4. The state of this part of the marsh about A. D. 1600 will be seen from the annexed map, copied from one in the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum.

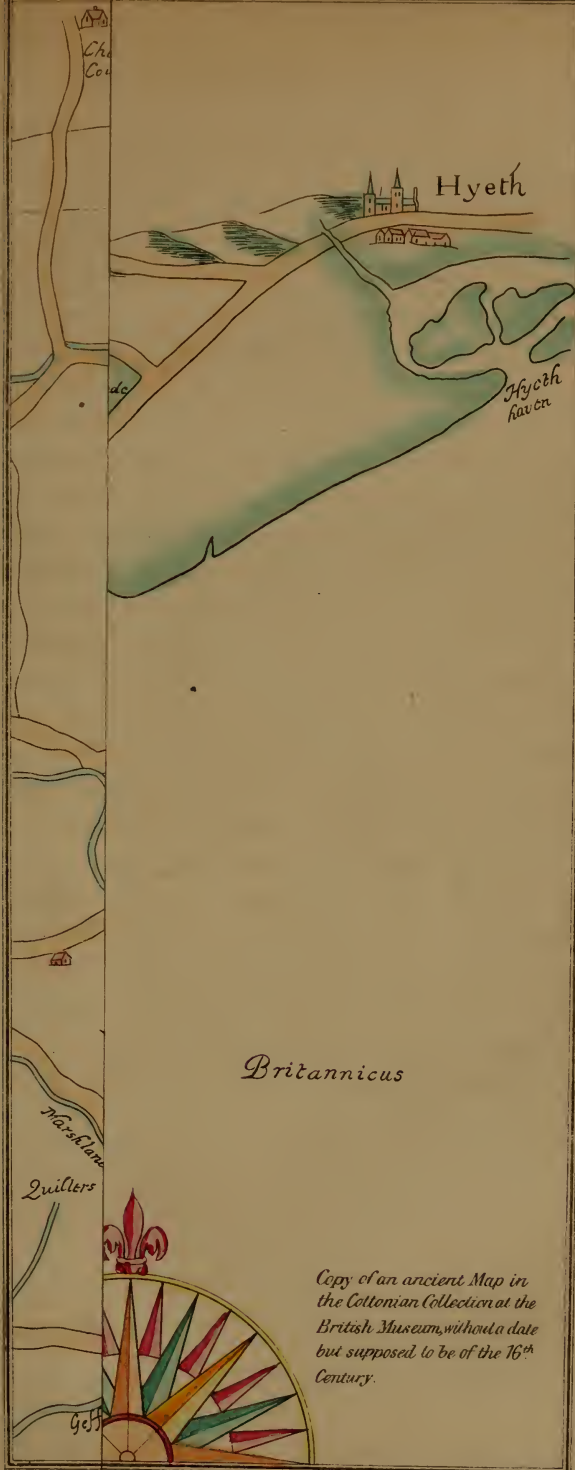
³ See Hasted's *Kent*.

⁴ A copy of an old map in the Cottonian Collection at the British

this part of the coast, I find what I have not seen noticed elsewhere, viz. that the bay of Limne contained within it two islands. An anecdote related of one of Cæsar's soldiers refers to an island in connection with the camp, and I had always supposed, until I met with these ancient charts, that the story was an idle invention; but the circumstance, so apocryphal before, becomes thus no inconsiderable argument for placing the descent in this locality.

Cæsar had reached the creek of Limne, and on the western side of it was the shore where the debarkation was to be made. It was *planum* or flat as he describes it, for there was not a single elevation throughout the whole marsh, and it was also *apertum* or open, for the heights to the north were at least a mile distant. The sea-beach was also *molle*, or soft, not with mud or ooze, which would be a very inconvenient landing-ground, and ill adapted for a conflict, but soft in a sailor's sense, i. e. it consisted of shingle, than which nothing can be more favourable to the security of vessels. The pebbles being rounded do not cut the ships' timbers, and being also loose offer no resistance. Sand, on the contrary, which a landsman might consider soft, is, in naval phraseology, of the hardest kind, as it has no "give," and a ship beating against it would soon be shattered to pieces. I am glad to find, even in the Astronomer Royal's dissertation, the admission that "this beach

Museum is inserted in this work. Harris's *History of Kent* gives an old map from Dugdale, which represents two islands before Hythe, and a long gut (that alluded to by Leland) running eastward. So also does the map in Speed's *History*. The map of Richard of Cirencester points out nothing remarkable as to Romney Marsh, but the scale is too small to furnish an argument either way. The oldest maps of England will be found in Gough's *British Topography*.



*Copy of an ancient Map in
the Cottonian Collection at the
British Museum, without a date
but supposed to be of the 16th
Century.*

is very favourable for landing." The spot also offered other advantages. The interposition of the creek obliged the enemy to make a circuit, and if expedition were used, Cæsar might land before the British foot could come up. As for the cavalry and charioteers, they were already there and lined the shore. It may also have entered into his calculations that the harbour of Limne, though not capable of containing his fleet, and now probably occupied by the enemy, and commanded by the heights on the north, would, so soon as he was in possession of the country, be a useful medium of communication with Boulogne, the corresponding port on the opposite coast. On his left, too, was the bay of Dungeness, where, except the wind blew from one particular quarter, the east, any number of vessels might ride at anchor in safety.

It was now between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, and the tide still rising¹; a very favourable circumstance for the debarcation, and which had no doubt been counted upon. The wind was from the east, and the waves were tumbling in, but not with sufficient violence to offer any serious obstacle to the descent. Cæsar, therefore, gave the word of command, and the ships, so far as the shelving shore permitted, were run upon the beach. The horsemen and charioteers of the Britons which clouded the strand now poured such a shower of javelins upon the Roman galleys that even Cæsar's hardy veterans dared not face the storm and spring from their ships.² Besides the weight of their own arms they had also to buffet the waves, and in ignorance themselves of the localities were engaged

¹ High water at Hythe on that day (27th Aug.) at 8 P. M.

² "Nostros navibus egredi prohibebant." — *B. G.* iv. 24.

with a foe to whom the shallows were familiar. Cæsar confesses that his men shrank from the conflict. The eye of the commander looked anxiously round, and in order to check the fierce onset of the natives, and give space for the debarcation, he ordered the triremes, armed with slings, and arrows, and cross-bows, to discharge a volley on the enemies' front. This produced the desired effect; for, galled by the sudden flight of missiles from an unexpected quarter against their half-naked bodies, the Britons retreated a few paces, when the standard-bearer of the renowned tenth legion seized the opportune moment, and shouting to his men, "Soldiers, follow me! For Cæsar and the Republic!" threw himself into the sea, and struggled to land. His comrades followed by military instinct the example of their leader; and, dashing after the ensign, rushed to close quarters. Now came the tug of war. The Romans were not in rank, and their heavy armour impeded their movements. The Britons, on the other hand, with their small bucklers, short spears, and light swords, were here, there, and everywhere¹, and before the Romans could form, many a knot of them was cut in pieces. Victory trembled in the balance, when again the great captain displayed his military coolness. Wherever along the lines the enemy pressed hardest upon the legionaries, Cæsar despatched the long-boats with succours to their relief. The Romans recovered more and more from their disorder, and soon the tide

¹ "Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἀσπίς καὶ δόρυ βραχὺ, μῆλον χαλκοῦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ στόρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σειόμενον κτυπεῖν πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐναντίων· εἰς δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια." — *Xiphilin*, cited *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lx. "Ἀσπίδα μόνην στενὴν περιβεβλημένοι καὶ δόρυ· ξίφος δὲ παρηρητημένοι, γυμνοῦ σώματος· στόρακος δὲ ἢ κρανοῦς οὐκ ἴσασι χρῆσιν." — *Herodian*, cited *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxiv.

began to turn, and the Britons to experience how little undisciplined valour can prevail against a compact body animated by one soul, and directed by an experienced tactician. No sooner were Cæsar's troops in battle-array than their wonted vigour and confidence returned, and the Britons were discomfited and re-treated. Cæsar, however, had no cavalry with him, and this it was, according to his own account, that saved the enemy from a total defeat.¹

Now, for the first time, a Roman planted his foot on British soil. It was a memorable event; and, if I mistake not, the tradition of it has been preserved in the name of the spot where the descent was made. In the most ancient records, as Domesday Book, Romney Marsh is written *Romanel*², and the natural inference is that it was so called from the Romans. The whole marsh is subdivided into Guildford and Walland Marshes, to the west; Denge Marsh, to the south; and Romney Marsh proper, to the east. The latter was the portion where the Romans landed, and the town of Romney, called after them, stood at the extremity of it on the eastern bank of the now scarcely traceable channel of the Rother.

If our hypothesis that Cæsar landed at Romney Marsh be well founded, of course the theories which assign other localities for the landing are erroneous. There are, however, two opinions which have received the sanction of very distinguished men, and therefore deserve a passing notice. Cæsar, says Halley, sailed to the east, and disembarked at Deal. Cæsar, says Airy, sailed to the west, and disembarked at Pevensey. Let us first take the case of Deal.

¹ "Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cæsari defuit." — *B. G.* iv. 26.

² *Hasted.*

Halley, by calling attention to the turn of the tide as an important element in Cæsar's narrative, led the way to the determination of the true place of Cæsar's landing, though he failed to discover it himself. As his argument cannot fail to be interesting, I will read you an extract from it. Those who wish to peruse the whole paper, will find it in the third vol. of the Philosophical Transactions, p. 440:—

“As to the place,” he says, “the high land and cliffs described could be no other than those of Dover, and are allowed to have been so by all. It remains only to consider whether the descent was made to the northward or southward of the place where he anchored. The data to determine this are:—1. That it was four days before the full moon; 2. That that day, by three o'clock in the afternoon, the tide ran the same way that he sailed; 3. That a S. by E. moon makes high water on all that coast, the flood coming from the southward. Hence it will follow, that that day it was high water about eight in the morning, and consequently low water about two; therefore, by three the tide of flood was well made up, and it is plain that Cæsar went with it; and the flood setting to the northward, shows that the open plain shore where he landed was to the northward of the cliffs, and must be in the Downs; *and this I take to be little less than demonstration.*”

Here the astronomer is correct enough in the time of high and low water on the day mentioned; but he falls into error in therefore concluding that the current was at 3 P.M. in full flow to the north. The theory that when the tide rises it runs to the north, and that in ebbing it returns to the south, may be true generally; but the mistake made was, that he did not allow for

the disturbances created by the obstruction which the tide encounters in forcing its way amongst islands and through narrow channels. It is one thing to calculate forces in the abstract, and another to apply them, taking into account the resistance from friction. The present Astronomer Royal, in order to set the matter at rest, applied for information to Captain F. W. Beechey, who had recently made a survey of the Channel, under the directions of the Admiralty, and the answer was substantially in accordance with the tidal tables. "At full and change of the moon," he says, "the stream makes to the westward off Dover, at one and a half mile distance from the shore, about 3^h 10^m, and there does not appear to be much difference in this part of the Channel between the turn of the stream in shore and in the centre. . . . Winds greatly affect the time of turn of the stream. The stream runs to the west about six and a half hours, after which there is slack water for about a quarter of an hour."¹ Now, if at full moon the tide runs west at 3 P. M., it follows that on the fourth day before the tide would begin to run west about noon, and at 3 P. M. would have acquired its maximum velocity in that direction. Thus the very argument which Halley made use of triumphantly to show that Cæsar sailed to Deal, is a demonstrative proof that he sailed towards Romney Marsh. Another objection to the debarcation at Deal may be drawn

¹ Archæolog. vol. xxxiv. To test the accuracy of this account, I requested my friend Mr. Barton, of Dover, to observe for me on 18th January, 1859 (the day of the full moon), at what time the tide turned west, and he returned the following answer:—"18th January, 1859. Sir F. W. Beechey is quite correct in his statement, as the tide turned, and commenced running west, a few minutes before three o'clock this afternoon."

from a circumstance attending Cæsar's expedition in the following year. Cæsar again started from Boulogne at night, and steered for the same place where he had landed before; but during the night his fleet was drifted by the current, and in the morning he found Britain, i. e. the South Foreland, on his left hand. Had he been making for Deal, this was just in the line for it; but what did Cæsar do? He took advantage of the turn of the tide back again toward the west, and then followed it till, by dint of rowing and the aid of the stream, he arrived about noon at his former landing-place.¹ Neither do the features of Deal at all correspond to the face of the country such as Cæsar depicts it. Where are the woods and the corn lands, to which repeated reference is made in the Commentaries? I will not say that there is not a tree or a corn field near Deal, but the character of the district is pastoral. From Deal to Canterbury is one great grazing plain, undiversified by a single coppice. Where, again, are the marshes, which are put prominently forward in every writer's account? Cæsar speaks of the *vada* or shoals (*B. G.* v. 26); Dion of the *τενάγη* or lagoons (xxxix. 51); Plutarch of the *τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ τελματώδη*, the marshy and swampy ground (*Plut. Cæs.* 16); and Valerius Maximus of an island formed by the ebb and flow of the tide (*Val. Max.* iii. 2). But, as to the part about Deal, I may use the very words of Halley himself, that "it is known to be a firm champaign country, without fens and morasses."² Halley, indeed, thinks the difficulty removed

¹ "Longius delatus æstu, ortâ luce, sub sinistrâ Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus *æstûs commutationem secutus* remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet quâ optimum esse egressum superiore ætate cognoverat."—*B. G.* v. 8.

² *Philos. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 422.

by translating *τενάγη*, which most staggers him, by the ooze of the sea; but if he supposed that there was a wet and muddy border from the wash of the waves along that coast, he was altogether mistaken, as the beach is a fine dry shingle. Where, again, is the river backed by a commanding height, on which the Britons were posted at the distance of twelve miles from Cæsar's camp? The Stour at Canterbury is eighteen miles from Deal, and if it approaches nearer on its way to Sandwich, it flows through a low, marshy ground, where we shall look in vain for any strong military fastness, of a forestal character, such as the Britons are said to have occupied.¹

Those to whom faith furnishes a strong imagination, are said to have seen the remains of fortifications about Deal, which, of course, are ascribed to Cæsar. But I can only say that, in walking from Deal by Walmer to the commencement of the chalk cliffs, I endeavoured in vain to find anything of the kind. If there be such remains, they belong probably to the Romans of later times, or to the Saxons or Danes. But I cannot help thinking that they never had any existence, as Camden himself suggests that what are supposed to be military works may be merely heaps of sand and accumulations of shingle.²

The only argument I can hit upon in favour of Deal, is one of very apocryphal authority, for it is drawn from Dion Cassius, who wrote more than two hundred years after the event. He tells us incidentally that Cæsar being repulsed from the usual landing-place, "sailed

¹ "Locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum;
nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi."—*B. G.* v. 9.

² *Camd. Brit.*

round a certain headland, and so coasted along to another part."¹ This, certainly, if taken literally, looks as if he went round the South Foreland, but I am satisfied that if he had done so, Cæsar would have mentioned so remarkable a promontory. If the descriptive words of so late a writer as Dion are to have any weight, I should interpret them as meaning only that Cæsar sailed round the bend of the precipitous shore between Folkestone and Sandgate, at which latter place the high cliffs turn inland, and where, at that time, the sea flowed up to the harbour of Limpne or Limne; or else that Cæsar arrived at first off Eastweir Bay, which lies between Folkestone and Dover, and then sailed round the cliff which shuts in the bay on the west, to the coast off Lymne which, by the ordnance map, is just about eight miles to the west of Eastweir Bay.

Next for the hypothesis lately advanced by the Astronomer Royal, that Cæsar landed at Pevensey. In the first place, the selection of this spot for the debarcation is simply a consequence flowing from another assumption of the same writer, viz. that Cæsar set sail from the estuary of the Somme; and as I have shown the latter position to be untenable, the former must fall with it. But there are some special objections to Airy's theory of Pevensey, which I cannot pass over. Cæsar describes Portus Itius as thirty miles only from Britain; whereas Pevensey is fifty-two nautical, or sixty English miles, from the Somme, i. e. double the distance, and is, I presume, at least forty miles from any other point of the Continent. How, then, can Pevensey be the coast for which Cæsar steered? Again, consider the bearing

¹ "Ἀκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν περιπλεύσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη."
— *Dion*, xxxix. 51.

of this distance with reference to Cæsar's return from his second expedition. We shall see that Cæsar, on the latter occasion, was about eight hours only in crossing, viz. from nine in the evening to five in the morning, and if he made for the Somme, sixty miles distant, his fleet (overcrowded as it certainly was) must, nevertheless, have progressed at the rate of seven and a half miles an hour, which, as there was no wind, but they trusted to their oars only, may surely be pronounced impossible.¹ I would also venture to ask the question, How it happened, if Cæsar landed at Pevensey, that the Britons were seen upon the heights in expectation of his arrival? Can it be supposed that Cæsar, one of the greatest generals of any age, had made the plan of his debarcation so public that common rumour had transmitted it across the water? On the contrary, Cæsar did not even inform his own officers what were his designs until the very last moment. The only conceivable explanation is, that the Britons had assembled their forces at the havens universally frequented by continental voyagers, and it remains to be shown that Hastings was such a port, more particularly as Cæsar tells us that Kent, and not Sussex, was the coast for which vessels from Gaul were ordinarily bound.² Is it not also strange and unaccountable that Cæsar should have landed in the heart of the dense forest of Anderida? No doubt, the Astronomer Royal contends that the forest ended at Robertsbridge toward the east. But what proof of this is offered? Will not every one who examines the geological map of England be convinced

¹ "Summam tranquillitatem consecutus."—*B. G.* v. 23. All the vessels were row-boats or *actuariæ*. (*B. G.* v. 1.)

² "Cantium, quo ferè ex Galliâ naves appelluntur."—*B. G.* v. 13.

that it extended as far as the wealden, i. e. the wooded formation; and, therefore, as far as Hythe? Why else have we so many Hursts (the Saxon for woods) to the east of Robertsbridge? The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is decisive that even in A. D. 891, the wood Anderida extended, at all events, as far as four miles from the mouth of the Rother; for, "On this river (the Limene) they towed up their ships as far as the wood, four miles from the mouth, and erected a fortress at Appledore."¹ That the debarcation must have been not at Pevensey but in Kent, is also evinced by a circumstance which the Astronomer Royal, I think, has not adverted to, viz. that Cassivelaun, when he had drawn Cæsar beyond the Thames, sent orders to the princes of *Kent* to make an attack on Cæsar's naval camp.² Does not this show incontestibly that the camp was in Kent and not in Sussex? Or will it be said that Kent at that time comprised Sussex? I have never seen it surmised that the ancient borders of Kent were different from the present. Sussex was from time immemorial known as the kingdom of the Regni.

Again, when Cæsar sailed to Britain on the second expedition, he was so drifted out of his right course by the current, that in the morning he found the coast of Britain on his *left hand*. This evidently means that the tide had carried him through the Straits of Dover beyond

¹ Anglos. Chron. A. D. 891. Here by the Limene is clearly meant the Rother, but usually by the Limene was meant the creek of Limne, as in *Anon. Raven.* who, amongst the rivers of Britain, enumerates successively, Durbis (Dover), Lemana (Lymne), Rovia (Rother).

² "Cassivelaunus ad Cantium . . . nuntios mittit, atque his imperat, ut coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia de improvviso adoriantur atque oppugnent." — *B. G.* v. 22.

or up to the South Foreland, and then, with the ship's head as at starting, he would have the chalk cliffs between Folkestone and the South Foreland on his left. But I ask, how could this have occurred had the voyage been from the Somme to Pevensey? In that case, the distances were such that the tide, which never drifts a vessel more than eighteen miles as the maximum¹, could not possibly have caused such a deviation from the right line between the Somme and Pevensey.

We return to Cæsar, whom we left on the seashore at Romney Marsh. It was now growing dark, the struggle was over, and the first thing to be done was to entrench a camp. This was customary with the Romans on ordinary occasions, but here it was more especially needed, for it could not be disguised that the position of the victor was a somewhat delicate one. Cæsar, with 8,000 men, was in a strange land, with a hardy and warlike race before him. To attempt the subjugation of the island with so small a band, or even to force his way across the Thames in the direction of the Trinobantes (Essex), where Imanuent and Mandubert were expecting his approach, was palpably hopeless, for his two legions would soon be destroyed in piecemeal. His policy, therefore, was to make the most of his dearly bought victory, and, on the first plausible occasion, to effect a return to the Continent, and, if Britain were worth the time and outlay, then to repeat the experiment the following year with an army equal to the enterprise. In the meantime, the communication with the sea must be kept open, and, consequently, no advance could be made into the interior.

¹ See *post*.

The precise point where the earliest Roman camp was pitched must be matter of conjecture. Some may, perhaps, be inclined to place it on Shorncliffe, where is the ancient camp already alluded to, which is decidedly Roman; but, on second consideration, the site is inadmissible. Cæsar's camp was evidently a temporary one, for its dimensions were narrower than usual, from the legions having crossed the Channel without their baggage¹, and, besides, the triremes were drawn up on shore in juxtaposition to the camp, which could scarcely have been at Shorncliffe, as the seabeach below is at some distance from the *castrum*, and is also dotted with rocks, the last spurs to the west of this iron-bound coast. Others may be disposed to locate the camp at Stutfall, the Roman quadrangular fortress standing half-way up the hill of Limne, and overlooking the old port; but, had the triremes been drawn on shore at Stutfall, they could scarcely have been swamped by the tide, a mishap which afterwards overtook them. The building of Stutfall itself was certainly not erected on this occasion, as it is of much too massive a character. We should say, upon the whole, that the camp of Cæsar was probably on the seaside opposite Limne, and perhaps where the fort now stands. This agrees best with the various features of the description. It would then be a protection to the triremes drawn up under the ramparts, and, again, it would afford credibility to the anecdote of Valerius Maximus, that the camp was not far from an island, and would correspond, also, in two circumstances, appa-

¹ "Quum paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, quæ hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Cæsar legiones transportaverat." — *B. G.* iv. 30.

rently not easily combined, viz. that on the one hand there were marshes round about, and on the other there were corn fields and woods in the immediate vicinity. The latter fact, which so exactly tallies with a site off Limne, would exclude the notion of placing the camp more to the west, in the neighbourhood of Romney, for, in that quarter, though the fens abound, there are few corn fields and no woods.

The Britons, on their side, had felt the weight of Cæsar's legions, and, after a defeat with every advantage in their favour, could not hope to succeed in a conflict upon equal terms. Besides, the troops of Kent and Regnum or Sussex only were now opposed to the invader. The most powerful of the British princes, Cassivelaun, king of the Catyeuchlani (Hertfordshire and Middlesex), was fully employed elsewhere, for he was engaged in an internecine war with Imanuent, king of the Trinobantes.¹ The forces, also, which had been collected on the coast were hastily drawn together, and many of them were beardless youths; at least, the author of the *Dialog. de Oratoribus*, who wrote A.D. 75, introduces Aperas saying that he had conversed in Britain with one who had taken part in the battle at Cæsar's landing²; and, as the anecdote is related 130 years after the event, the Briton in question must have been a

¹ Cæsar, in the second expedition, observes that: "Huic (Cassivelauno) superiori tempore [viz. on the first expedition] cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserant." — *B. G.* v. 11, compare v. 20.

² "Ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fâtebatur ei pugnae interfuisse, qua Cæsarem inferentem arma Britannis arcere litoribus et pellere aggressi sunt. Ita si eum qui armatus Cæsari restitit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem protraxisset, idem Cæsarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit, et nostris quoque actionibus interesse." — *Dial. de Orat.* c. 17.

mere stripling in B.C. 55. According to Cæsar, no sooner had the Romans made good their debarkation than the Britons sued for peace, and delivered up Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar, before his passage across the Channel, had sent into Britain, and who, as soon as he landed, had been seized and put in bonds as a spy. We have no other account, and must, therefore, acquiesce in this statement, inconsistent as it appears with the resolute and determined character of the Britons on other occasions. Cæsar¹, who was ready to accept any terms, made a feint of commanding hostages, and hostages were given by some states, by those perhaps which were friendly to the Romans, and were promised by others, but never delivered. Thus a peace, or rather a hollow truce, was concluded, and for a few days there was a calm; the Romans quietly occupying their camp, and the natives pursuing, at least ostensibly, their usual agricultural occupations.

The fourth day of Cæsar's arrival (the day of arrival included), i.e. on the 30th of August, great events occurred. We have seen that eighteen ships, assembled at Ambleteuse, had been unable to make the port of Boulogne, and, in consequence, the cavalry had been ordered from Boulogne to Ambleteuse, to embark there with all expedition. Cæsar complains of a little want of alacrity on the part of the cavalry², and the delay was so fatal that any peevishness on the part of the commander may be excused. The day after the trans-

¹ Dion seems to insinuate that negotiations only were pending, and that no treaty had been concluded when the Britons renewed the contest: "τότε μὲν ὁμήρους αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἢ θέλησαν." — *Dion*, xxxix. 51.

² "Ab quibus cum paullo tardius esset administratum." — *B. G.* iv. 23.

port of the infantry, the wind had shifted from the south-west to the north-east, and the vessels at Ambleteuse could not quit the harbour. At length, on the 30th August, the wind moderated, and a gentle breeze sprang up from the south, when the cavalry hurried on board, and set sail for Britain. The elements had deluded them, for, when in mid-channel, and already in sight from Cæsar's camp, the wind suddenly veered round to the old quarter of the north-east, and blew such a hurricane that the vessels were beaten out of their course. Some were driven back to the Continent, and others borne away to the western parts of the island, where they cast anchor, and endeavoured to ride out the storm; but the violence of the waves was such that, being afraid of running into any British harbour, for fear of assassination, they were obliged to put to sea again and steer for the Continent, so that, eventually, not a single trooper ever reached the Roman camp.¹ The eighty vessels by which Cæsar had transported his legions, and which had been anchored off the shore in the Bay of Dungeness, were also victims to the tempest. I have heard an old weather-beaten sailor remark that there is no finer bay than this along the southern coast, and that ships may ride there in safety at all times, provided the wind do not come from the east. Unluckily, this was partly the quarter from which the wind now blew, and the consequence was that the transports became unmanageable; many of them foundered, and the rest lost their sails and anchors, and were rendered unfit for service. Even the triremes, which had been drawn up on the beach, did not escape, for at night was the full moon, when was the spring tide. In gene-

¹ B. G. iv. 28.

ral, no doubt, the highest tide is a day and a half after the full ; but, to use the language of the old sailor with whom I conversed, "It is the wind as rules the tides." In Dungeness Bay, for instance, when the wind is in the north, the tide rises to an unusual height ; and, when the wind is in the south, it falls proportionally low. The hurricane which now swept the ocean was from the north-east ; and the combined effect of the spring tide and of the wind was to pour a deluge over a great part of Romney Marsh ; and, as the Romans, in ignorance of these natural phenomena, had drawn up their galleys on the very margin of the sea, the foaming billows burst over them, and caused incredible damage.¹ It is a singular confirmation of our hypothesis of the debarcation at Romney Marsh that the range of high water at the springs is greater here than at any other point of the southern coast. At Dungeness, for example, the mean range is twenty-one feet three quarters, while at Deal it is only sixteen feet, so that Cæsar's vessels at Romney Marsh were exposed to a rise of nearly six feet more than they would have been at Deal.²

Cæsar now brings a charge of perfidy against the Britons, viz. that seeing the small amount of his infantry, without any cavalry or supplies of corn or serviceable transports, they, in spite of the treaty which had been solemnly concluded, entered into a conspiracy for the extermination of the Romans by an assault upon their camp. But we must remember that the Commentaries are an *ex parte* statement, and written with a strong bias towards the glorification of the writer and

¹ "Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos æstus maximos in oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum."—*B. G.* iv. 29. "κατὰ τὴν πανσέληνον."—*Strabo*, iv. 5.

² Potter's Tide Tables for 1859, p. 147.

the disparagement of the Britons. But I think it will appear, even on Cæsar's own showing, that the Britons were as much the aggrieved as the aggressive party. We read that Cæsar, before he knew the designs of the Britons — before, I say, he knew the designs of the Britons¹, — drew a conjectural conclusion from the circumstances in which he was placed that they would play him false, and proceeded to make preparation against it by cutting all the standing corn within his reach and carrying it into his camp. Now, was it not a *casus belli* that a general with whom they had just struck a treaty of peace should march his troops into their fields and annihilate the labours of the year by taking forcible possession of the crops? Appian, indeed, expressly states that the Romans had agreed by the treaty to withdraw from the island, and that the Britons advanced a charge of perfidy against the Romans for still remaining upon their shores.²

The events which occurred were these. Cæsar day after day continued cutting and carrying the corn from the vicinity³; the Britons at last could endure this no longer, and concerted the following stratagem. The only corn left was contiguous to a wood, and concluding that the Romans would next extend their depredation in this direction, they concealed there a strong body of horse and foot and charioteers, ready to sally forth at a given signal. The ambush succeeded. About a week after the storm, i.e. about the 7th

¹ "Etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat." — *B. G.* iv. 31.

² "Εὐθὺς ἠρέθιζον (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκῆσαι, ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἔτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον." — *Appian*, cited *Monum. Historica Britannica*, 50.

³ "Frumentum ex agris in castra quotidie comparabat." — *B. G.* iv. 31.

of September, one of the two legions, viz. the seventh, was sent to forage as usual, and they turned their steps towards the field where the snare had been laid. No sooner had they piled their arms, and were engaged with their sickles, than the Britons rushed upon them unawares, slew some¹, and with their horse and chariots hemmed in the rest.² A desperate struggle now ensued, as the legion was surrounded and no quarter was asked on either side. By good luck the cohorts, which were on duty before the camp, and were looking idly in the direction which the legion had taken, saw a whirlwind of dust flying in the air, and immediately gave the alarm.³ Cæsar hastened off, himself, with the cohorts already under arms, and commanded the rest to follow with all expedition. He arrived just in time to save the legion. The enemy, taken in flank, at once gave ground, and the legionaries at sight of the succours took heart, and redoubled their efforts. It was a narrow escape, however; and Cæsar, by his own confession, could only bring off his men without daring to run the risk of a general engagement.

Consider here, for a moment, how apparently irreconcilable and incapable of answering to any locality are the features attending this skirmish. The camp itself was in the marsh, as is evident from its covering the triremes drawn up on shore, and from the repeated references by Cæsar and all writers to the

¹ "Paucis interfectis." — *Cæs. B. G.* iv. 32. Dion says that the Britons slew nearly the whole: "τούς τε πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειραν." — *Dion*, xxxix. 52.

² "Simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant." — *B. G.* iv. 32.

³ "Ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Cæsari renuntiaverunt pulverem majorem quam consuetudo ferret in eâ parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset." — *B. G.* iv. 32.

shoals and shallows. On the other hand, a corn field adjoining a wood could not have existed on the marsh, where the corn fields are few and woods are none. Yet the scene of the combat was not far from the camp or the dust would not have been observed, and Cæsar could not have brought such ready assistance. At the same time also that the two points were little removed from each other, the dust only was seen, and not the combatants themselves. I confess that, as I passed in a boat along the coast opposite Limne, and saw no woods and no corn fields in the marsh, and a hill shutting in the plain on the north, my reflection was, How could Cæsar's camp have been here, for the ambush against the seventh legion could not have been laid in the marsh, and if on the other side of the hill, how could the dust of the fight have been visible? But on another day, when I visited Hythe by land, and walked from it to the old port of Limne and then mounted the hill, I discovered the explanation. On reaching the top I stepped at once into a corn field, dry and dusty from the lightness of the soil, and on my right was Park Wood, covering some fifty acres, besides another wood, called Fowke Wood, in the immediate neighbourhood. What I had taken from the sea for a hill was not a hill, i. e. it had no descent on the north side, but was a platform of land, and was under the plough, and corn growing so near to the edge that even the reapers, if labouring in that part of the field, might have been seen from the camp. The whole narrative was now realised to the mind's eye in the most graphic manner. The legion had marched up to the standing fields of corn on the high ground, and the Britons starting from their lurking-place at the side had intercepted their retreat, and surrounded them at just such an interval

from the edge that the combatants themselves were out of sight and hearing, but the dust flying in the air had attracted the attention of the guard standing under arms at a mile's distance below.

But to proceed. Cæsar, not feeling himself strong enough to avenge the blow which had been struck at the seventh legion, withdrew his forces behind the entrenchments of his camp, and this confession of weakness on his part gave proportional confidence to his antagonist. For many days consecutively the weather was so unpropitious that neither party ventured on any hostile movement. About the 15th September, however, the Britons, having by that time assembled a numerous body of infantry and cavalry, determined on assaulting the very camp of the Romans. Cæsar deemed it the wisest course to anticipate the conflict which he could not avoid; and, therefore, trusting to the valour and discipline of his legions in a general engagement, drew out his army in front of the camp, and awaited the approach of the enemy.

Now, perhaps, occurred the incident related by Valerius Maximus. One Scæva, and four others, had been posted by Cæsar as piquets on a solitary ait¹, which rose above the waves, and was separated from a larger island, occupied by the enemy, by a narrow strait formed by the tide at high water. The islands represented in the old maps as studding the inlet which ran up to Limne, may possibly have been the identical islands here referred to by the historian; but, of course, all is conjecture, when the configuration of this part of the coast has undergone such material changes. The

¹ Valerius Maximus calls it a *scopulus*, which probably means nothing more than an eminence. Plutarch is very emphatic in saying that the adventure was in a marsh. (*Plut. Cas.* c. 16.)

Britons being familiar with the coast, knew exactly when, by the subsidence of the flood, the intervening channel could become fordable, and as soon as it was so, they dashed into the sea and made toward the Roman guard. Four out of the five sprang into their boat and rowed to the camp; but Scæva, whether purposely or by accident, was left behind, when he hurled among the enemy his own javelins and those flung away by his comrades, and then, drawing his sword, fought hand to hand, and finally cast himself into the water and swam across to the camp.¹ Plutarch tells the same story, and lays the scene in sight of Cæsar himself, and therefore close to the camp²; and in a marsh or swamp, which, with the light afforded by the account of Valerius Maximus, must be taken to mean a lagoon subject to the alternations of the high and low tide.³

On the mainland the hostile forces met, and again the compact onset of the veteran legions prevailed. Cæsar had no cavalry, except thirty horsemen which Comius of Arras had just brought over from the Continent, and few therefore of the Britons could be slain or captured. The only revenge in the power of the Romans was to set fire to the buildings which came in their way, and many a merchant's house at Limne, and in the vicinity, was burnt to the ground.⁴

¹ Valer. Max. iii. 2, 23. The vada described by Val. Max. as caused by the flux and reflux of the tide are evidently the vada referred to by Cæsar (iv. 26).

² “Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶντος.” — *Plut. Cæs.* s. 16.

³ “τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὕδατος . . ῥεύματα τελματώδη . . τὰ μὲν νηχόμενος τὰ δὲ βαδίζων.” — *Plut. Cæs.* 16.

⁴ B. G. iv. 35. The camp, therefore, was not in the heart of the marsh, where frequent houses would not be found.

The position of the two parties at the present moment was this:—The Britons had once more felt the irresistible weight of a disciplined army confident in its general, and, after a defeat in the open field, they could not hope to carry the camp by assault. Cæsar, on the other hand, was in a hostile country, with a force wholly inadequate to any advance into the interior, and the season was so late, and his ships so shattered, that unless he returned shortly he might even experience some difficulty in effecting a retreat. Thus both sides were predisposed to peace, and, according to Cæsar, the Britons, on the very day of the last conflict, tendered their submission.¹ From Dion, however, we learn that negotiations were opened by the intervention of some Morini who were friends of the Britons.² Cæsar would have us believe that he carried it with a high hand, and that he required the delivery of twice the number of hostages which he had previously exacted; but it is easy to see, notwithstanding the veil attempted to be thrown over the transaction, that he wanted only a plausible pretext for transporting himself and his army back again to Gaul. He admits himself that the hostages were merely promised and not delivered at the time, and that two states only ever kept their engagement.³ There was no cession of territory, no imposition of tribute, and there is no mention of even any booty. The conclusion of a peace upon terms like these does not suggest a triumphant campaign, but rather wears

¹ “Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Cæsarem de pace venerunt.” — *B. G.* iv. 36.

² “πέμπουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μωρίνων τινὰς, φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων.” — *Dion*, xxxix. 51.

³ “Eo duæ omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt; reliquæ neglexerunt.” — *B. G.* iv. 38.

the aspect of a fortunate escape from anticipated disaster.

A few days after this was a favorable wind from the north-east¹, when Cæsar set sail from Britain, a little after midnight, on his return to Gaul.² He might have chosen this otherwise unpropitious hour for two reasons. In the first place, he would be less likely to meet with any molestation from an active foe, in whose good faith he placed no great confidence; and, secondly, as Boulogne was a tidal harbour, it would be necessary to arrive there at or a little before high water. If the state of the tide was thus taken into calculation, we may form some conjecture as to the day of departure. The passage from Boulogne to Britain had occupied the ordinary transports about fifteen hours; and as Cæsar had lost twelve ships, which would render the others more crowded, the same time, if not more, would be required for the return. Weighing anchor, therefore, at twelve at night, he would reach Boulogne at 3 P. M. next day. If it was high tide at 4 P. M. the fleet at 3 P. M. would not only be able to enter the port, but also have the stream in their favour. Now, high water at Boulogne at 4 P. M. would be about 19th September, for new moon was on 14th September, when high tide at Boulogne is at 11.25; and this agrees very well with the statement of the Commentaries, that the conclusion of the armistice, which led to his departure, was a little before the equinox, computed at that time to fall on 24th September.³

The fleet crossed the Channel in safety, but two transports, missing the mouth of the port for which

¹ "Ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus."—*B. G.* iv. 36.

² "Paullo post mediam noctem naves solvit."—*B. G.* iv. 36.

³ "Propinqua die æquinoctii."—*B. G.* iv. 36.

they were bound¹, were carried to a point a little to the south-west.² The soldiers (in number 600) disembarked, and commenced their march to the camp, when they were beset by the Morini for the sake of plunder. They sent off immediately for succour, and meanwhile bravely defended themselves for the space of four hours and upwards, when they were rescued by the cavalry dispatched from the camp to their assistance.³ The next day Cæsar ordered the seventh and tenth legions, under the command of Labienus, to inflict punishment on the aggressors; and as the marshes, their usual asylum, were dried up from the excessive heat, ample vengeance was taken.⁴ These incidents are unimportant in themselves, but not so the inferences to be deduced.

In the first place, how was it that the two vessels missed the port of Boulogne at all? The explanation is a singular instance of the correspondence of the most minute circumstances when a theory is correct. The fleet were, of course, *approaching* Boulogne when the tide was *rising*, for at low water they

¹ "Eosdem *portus* quos reliquæ capere non potuerunt." — *B. G.* iv. 36. It will be observed that here, as elsewhere (v. 8), *portus* is in the plural, from which it may be inferred that Cæsar made use, not only of Boulogne, but also of Ambleteuse and Wimereux, in the same neighbourhood. Cæsar himself, however, must have sailed to Boulogne; for which port also the two vessels in question, as Cæsar himself sent relief to their crews, must have been bound.

² "Paullo infra delatæ sunt." — *B. G.* iv. 36. There cannot be a doubt that *infra* means south-west. Thus: "*ad inferiorem partem insulæ quæ est proprius solis occasum.*" — *B. G.* iv. 28. So Ambleteuse, with reference to Boulogne, is called "*portus superior.*" (*Ib.*)

³ "Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt, atque amplius horis quatuor fortissime pugnauerunt." — *B. G.* iv. 37.

⁴ "Propter siccitates paludum." — *B. G.* iv. 38.

could not enter it. Now what says the Admiralty Directory? "On approaching Boulogne at the beginning of a *rising tide*, great attention should be paid to the direction in the tables, as the streams (from the Channel to the North Sea) hereabout meet, and are turned down upon the French coast, so that *a ship, which, at the English side, would at this time have a stream setting straight up the Channel, here encounters one upon her beam, sweeping her down towards the Somme*, and hence, probably, the cause of the many disastrous losses which have occurred in this part of the Channel."¹ Here then, at once, is the solution of the difficulty which would otherwise have presented itself, viz. that, if it was high water at 4 P.M., the stream at 2.30 P.M. would begin to run east, so that a vessel at that time would be drifted, not lower down towards the Somme, but higher up towards Calais. But we here learn upon authority, that, at the very same time that on the English side the current is running east, it sets in just the opposite direction in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. The captains of the two ships in question were evidently not aware of this peculiarity, and hence their inability to reach the general rendezvous.

Again, as the legionaries fought their way through the *Morini*, it follows, as observed in a former page, that the *Morini* were settled to the south-west of the port of Itius, and, consequently, that Portus Itius could not be the estuary of the Somme, as the *Morini* did not reach so far probably as the Somme, but certainly did not extend to the west beyond it.

Further, it is not expressly said, but may fairly

¹ Potter's Tide Tables, p. 132.

be inferred from the narrative, that there was also a port into which the two vessels ran to the south-west of Portus Itius; and, as the legionaries, while on their road to the camp, fought for more than four hours before assistance arrived, this port must have been at some considerable distance. Accordingly, at thirteen miles to the south-west of Boulogne, we find the port of Etaples at the mouth of La Canche, a situation which answers to the circumstances. But should it be thought more probable that the two ships made land at some nearer point, there are also the fishing refuges of Hardelot and Camiers.¹

Again, reference is made in the narrative to extensive marshes, in which the Morini the year before had eluded pursuit, but which were now accessible from the excessive drought. I have not visited this part, and cannot speak of the nature of the country from personal observation; but I find it stated, on credible authority, that these marshes formerly extended the whole way from Neufchâtel near Boulogne to Etaples.²

In concluding the account of the first invasion, I shall add but one or two general remarks, and these so obvious that they must already have occurred to your-

¹ "Un peu plus bas de Boulogne se trouvent Hardelot, Camiers, Etaples; il y a du choix, surtout si ce port un peu plus bas était tout simplement la place sur laquelle les vaisseaux furent portés et échouèrent." — *Mariette*, p. 65.

² "Des marais, situés paulo infra comme le port de débarquement, s'étendaient autrefois depuis Neufchâtel jusqu'à Etaples et Montreuil. Ces marais étaient situés à quatre ou cinq lieues de Gesoriacum, et les soldats débarqués pouvaient combattre quatre heures avant qu'un des leurs se fut détaché pour aller porter la nouvelle à César, et que la cavalerie ait eu le temps d'arriver." — *Mariette*, p. 66.

selves. It is impossible to suppose that, when Cæsar sailed from Boulogne with 8,000 legionaries, he had the intention of merely landing in Britain and cooping up his troops within the intrenchments of his camp on the seashore. He had, no doubt, imagined that, with a well-trained army of that amount, he could subdue Britain with ease, and, in fact, had only to take possession of it. Instead of that, he found the usual ports occupied by infantry and cavalry in martial array, and was obliged to seek a place of debarcation eight miles off, and was then so resolutely opposed as to effect a landing at a great sacrifice of life. Not only did he want the courage to march into the interior, but the Britons, taking the initiative, nearly cut off the seventh legion on one occasion, and compelled Cæsar on another to give battle with all his forces, without the chance of gaining anything more by his victory than a peaceful retreat across the Channel. Cæsar, of course, tells his own story in his own favour; and we have not the British account to put in the opposite scale. But even Cæsar's excuses and apologies lead to a disclosure of the truth. "He had passed into Britain," he says, "for the purpose of collecting information as to the people, the country, the ports, and the approaches."¹ But how was even this object accomplished; for, as he never quitted his camp except for a mile or so, for the rescue of his army or to check the insolence of the enemy, he could scarcely have obtained more intelligence on the one side of the water than on the other? It must be admitted that he gained some experience as to the mettle of the inhabitants; and found, to his cost, that

¹ "Tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset; gentis hominum perspexisset; loca, portus, aditus cognovisset." — *B. G.* iv. 20.

they were not lightly to be provoked. Unquestionably, he would not have been so much at the enemy's mercy had his cavalry not disappointed him; but a squadron of 800 horse could not have turned the scale so much in his favour as to give him possession of the country. Cæsar informs us that thirty days' thanksgiving was decreed at Rome for his exploits in Britain; but this was from the representation contained in his own despatches¹, and we are expressly told by Dion that Cæsar made the most of it.² Besides, Britain was so little known at Rome, that to have carried the Roman army thither beyond the civilised world was, in itself, regarded as no contemptible feat, not to mention that, from the state of parties at Rome, any honour in favour of Cæsar immediately became a political question. The other Roman historians are candid enough as to the failure of Cæsar's first expedition. Livy writes that Cæsar, in his first campaign, was unfortunate³; Dion remarks that he got nothing by the campaign but the barren honour of having landed in the island⁴; and it is certain that Cæsar acquired none of the usual fruits of victory,—no territory, no tribute, no booty. One fact speaks very loudly, viz. that when he returned to Gaul he left no garrison, not even a single soldier, behind him. He had been so roughly handled, that, as we should surmise, he had even no intention at this time of renewing the attempt. It was only from the

¹ B. G. iv. 38.

² "Τούτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύετο."—*Dion*, xxxix. 53.

³ "In Britanniam primo parum prospere tempestatibus adversis trajecit."—*Liv. Epit.* lib. 105.

⁴ "Μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἑαυτῷ μήτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος, πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δοῦναι."—*Dion*, xxxix. 53.
"διακενῆς τότε ἀνεχώρησε."—*Dion*, xl. 1.

taunts by which he was assailed in Gaul that he was afterwards induced to undertake a second invasion, with thrice the number of forces. It is clear that, for the rest of the year, though three months remained, he gave no orders for any preparations for the renewal of hostilities.

SECOND INVASION.

IN the following year, B.C. 54, being the consulship of L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius, Cæsar resolved on a second invasion of Britain. The excuse was that the Britons, with the exception of two states, had not sent the hostages which had been promised the year before.¹ The real motive was to retrieve the discredit of the previous failure, and to give incessant employment to his army. He was also stimulated to the enterprise by the earnest solicitations of an exiled British prince. During the first expedition a fierce war had been raging between Cassivelaun, king of the Catyeuchlani² and

¹ Cæs. B. G. iv. 38. Dion, xl. 1.

² It is generally believed that the capital of Cassivelaun was Verulamium, and, if so, his subjects were the Catyeuchlani: “*εἴτα Καρυευχλανοί, οἱ καὶ Καπελάνοι* [qu. *Καρπιλάνοι*] *ἐν πόλει Σαλῖναι* [qu. Sulloniacæ of Anton. Itin.] *Οἰρολάνιον*”—*Ptol.* ii. 3, 21. Indeed Cassivelaun and Catyeuchlan are the same name, and he was so called as being the chief of the clan, as we say the Macgregor, the Chisholm, &c. This will account for there being no coins of Cassivelaun, though there are so many of Cunobelin. Most of the Belgian tribes in Britain were called after those in Gaul (*B. G.* v. 12), and the *Καρυευχλανοί* as Ptolemy calls them (ii. 3, 21), or the *Καρυοελλανοί* as Dion calls them (lx. 20), were probably derived from the Catalauni, or Catelauni (*Eutrop.* ix. 13., and the *Notitia*), now known as the people of Chalons-sur-Marne, a corruption of the original name. The true designation of the clan appears to be that given by Dion, for an ancient inscription has been found in Britain CIVITATE CATVVELLANORUM T OIS DIO. (*Monum. Hist. Brit.* cxix.) They occupied Hertfordshire and Middlesex, for Cæsar says expressly that “Cassivelauni fines” were bounded on the south by the Thames (*B. G.* v. 11); and it is more natural to suppose that Cæsar means the borders of the Catyeuchlani Proper, than of the Trin-

Imanuent, king of the Trinobantes¹; and Cæsar, kept at bay on the seashore by the men of Kent and Sussex, had attempted in vain to carry assistance to Imanuent, his ally. The consequence was that the latter, unable by his own strength to withstand the furious onset of his powerful antagonist, had been defeated and slain; and his son Mandubert, seeking safety in flight, had taken refuge with Cæsar, and

bantes whom Cassivelaun had conquered. In the reign of Claudius, Caractacus and Togodumnus are called Κατονελλαοί, and their dominions comprised the Trinobantes eastward, and part of the Bodouni or Dobuni (Gloucestershire) westward. “Μέρος τῶν Βοδουνῶν ὧν ἐπῆρχον [Caractacus and Togodumnus] Κατονελλαοὶ ὄντες.” — *Dion*, lx. 20. The best map of Britannia Romana will be found in *Monum. Hist. Brit.*

¹ The Trinobantes were the people of Essex, and Camulodunum, or Colchester, was their capital: “Τρινόαντες ἐν οἷς πόλις Καμουδόλανον.” — *Ptol.* ii. 3, 22. They appear not to have reached westward beyond the river Lea, for Ptolemy places London (ascribed, as regards Southwark, to the Cantii) in longitude 20, and the North Foreland in longitude 22; and between these two points Colchester, the capital of the Trinobantes, in longitude 21, and Venta (Norwich), the capital of the Simeni or Iceni, as well as the opening of the estuary of the Thames, in longitude 20½; and he then speaks of the Trinobantes as to the east of the Simeni, and along the estuary of the Thames, having the Isles of Sheppey and Thanet opposite.

Λονδίον	20
Ἰάμησα εἴσχυσις [Thames estuary]	20½
Σέμενοι παρ’ οἷς πόλις Οὔεντα [Norwich]	20½
Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι παρὰ τὴν Ἰάμησα εἴσχυσιν, Τρινόαντες ἐν οἷς πόλις Καμουδόλανον [Colchester]	21
Κάντιον ἄκρον [North Foreland]	22
Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Τρινόαντας νῆσοι εἰσὶν αἷδε	
Τολίαπις [Sheppey]	23
Κώουννος νῆσος [Thanet]	24

It will be observed that Ptolemy, by mistake, places the islands of Sheppey and Thanet a little to the east, instead of the west, of the North Foreland.

now implored his intervention to restore him to the throne. The astute Roman at once discerned the use to be made of Mandubert's presence, and retained him in his camp with large promises of redress. The British refugee would accompany the expedition, and knowing the country would be an invaluable guide. Besides, to succour the unfortunate would be a plausible pretext for interference in British politics; and it might reasonably be expected that, when the victorious general appeared in the neighbourhood, the Trinobantes, smarting under the yoke of Cassivelaun, would break out into open rebellion in favour of their deliverer.

In the spring of the year therefore, Cæsar, the better to insure success against a most determined foe, gave directions for extensive preparations, particularly for the construction of a fleet upon a new principle. The ships were all to be flat-bottomed, and to be propelled by oars as well as sails.¹ The advantage anticipated from these deviations from the ordinary model were, that the vessels could lie in shallow water and approach closer to shore, and be easily hauled up, and the rowage would make them independent of wind and tide, which had before so much baffled him. The equipment of this armament would occupy a considerable time, especially as some of the materials were to be fetched from Spain², and the interval was to be employed in the discharge of a prefect's duty in making the circuit of the different countries within his jurisdiction, for the purpose of composing nascent

¹ "Paullo humiliores . . paullo latiores . . actuaris"—*B. G.* v. 1.
 "Ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχειῶν, καὶ τῶν αὐτοθεν τῶν φορτᾶδων, ὥπως ὡς μάλιστα καὶ κουφίζωσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ κῦμα ἀντέχωσιν, ἐπὶ τε ξηροῦ ἰστάμεναι μὴ λυμαίνωνται."—*Dion.* xl. 1.

² "Ea quæ sunt usui ad armandas naves ex Hispania apportari jubet."—*B. G.* v. 1.

disorders, and for the administration of justice. He first visited Cisalpine Gaul, and held the assizes there in the principal towns.¹ These may have been concluded about the end of February. He then proceeded to Illyricum, where he compelled the submission of the Procrustæ (who, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded the province), and then held the assizes for Illyricum.² The latter may have lasted till the end of April.

Cæsar usually returned from Illyricum to Gaul at the beginning of summer or about May³, and we know that he did so this year, as he tells us that on his way back he passed through Cisalpine Gaul⁴; and we learn from one of Cæsar's letters that Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, was with Cæsar at Laude (twenty-four miles from Placentia and sixteen from Milan) on 7th May.⁵ It was of great importance to Cæsar at this time to keep Mark Tully his friend, and with this view he offered Quintus Cicero the command of one of his legions.⁶ Both Cæsar and Quintus wrote to Cicero from Laude, and it is amusing to see how the ambitious and politic general humours the innocent vanity of the simple-minded orator. Cæsar even went so far as to commend Cicero's verses, and complimentary language could not be carried further.⁷ Both Cæsar and Quintus were at this

¹ "Conventibus Galliæ citerioris peractus." — *B. G.* v. 1.

² "Conventibus peractis." — *B. G.* v. 2.

³ "Quas legationes Cæsar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima æstate ad se reverti jubet." — *B. G.* iii. 35.

⁴ "In citeriorem Galliam revertitur." — *B. G.* v. 2.

⁵ "A. d. iv. non. Jun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentiæ; deinde alteras postridie, datas Laude nonis, cum Cæsaris litteris. . . . Litteræ vero ejus una datæ cum tuis." — *Cic. Ep. ad Q. Fr.* ii. 15.

⁶ *Cæs. B. G.* v. 24.

⁷ "Scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari." — *Cic. ad Q. Fr.* ii. 15.

time full of the intended expedition against Britain; and Quintus, at the instance of Cæsar, suggests that Tully should employ his pen in describing the approaching triumphs. "Give me only Britain," says Tully, in an ecstasy, "and I will paint it in your colours, but with *my brush*. But what am I saying? What leisure can I have, especially if, as Cæsar wishes, I remain at Rome? — but *we shall see*."¹ As we hear nothing of any panegyric by Cicero upon Cæsar's British campaign, we may conclude that the result did not exactly answer to the flattering picture which hope had foreshadowed.

Cæsar reached the northern coast of Gaul in the latter part of May, and on arriving found, to his infinite satisfaction, that his orders for preparations had been punctually obeyed. About 600 transports and 28 war galleys had been constructed in the different ports along the coast, and all of them either ready or capable of being launched within a few days.² Cæsar directed the vessels to rendezvous at Portus Itius, i. e. the port of Boulogne³, and in the meantime proceeded himself with the light troops and 800 cavalry against the Treviri, or people of Treves (the town on the Moselle at the junction of the Saar), who had lately shown some signs of disaffection. Cæsar was not long in quelling the disturbances in that quarter, and about midsummer, or 24th June⁴, returned to Boulogne, where he found his

¹ "Modo mihi date Britanniam; quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romæ præsertim, ut ipse me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? sed videro." — *Cic. Ep. ad Q. Fr.* ii. 15.

² "Neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possent." — *B. G.* v. 2.

³ *B. G.* v. 2.

⁴ "Ne æstatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur." — *B. G.* v. 4.

army and fleet assembled, viz. 8 legions of foot, 4000 horse, 560 transports, and 28 war galleys; 40 ships, which had been built on the Seine, had, from the prevalence of the north-western gales, been prevented from reaching the port.¹ The continuance of the adverse wind from the north-west detained Cæsar at Boulogne for the next twenty-five days, or until 18th July.² At length on that day, when was the full moon, the wind shifted to the south-west³, the quarter most favourable for a passage to Britain⁴; and Cæsar gave the word for embarkation.⁵ At full moon it is high tide at Boulogne at 11.20, and we may suppose that the ships then, or a little before, began to drop down the harbour, and anchor outside, to be ready for sailing. An unexpected

¹ The motley group now collected on the banks of the Liane has been graphically described by an anonymous contributor to a popular periodical: "The *legions* of Cæsar, and all their various auxiliaries and attendants; the *Gaulish* and *German* cavalry, the *Numidian* light horsemen, the *Spanish* infantry, the *Cretan* archers, and the slingers from the *Balearic* Isles; besides the crowds of sutlers and followers, the calones and mercatores, and all the various costumes and callings connected with the naval portion of the expedition."—*H. L. L. : Gent. Mag.* vol. xxvi. (1846) p. 251. See Cæs. B. G. ii. 7.

² "Itaque dies circiter xxv, in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediēbat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit."—*B. G.* v. 7. That corus or the north-west, prevents all egress from Boulogne, we have the testimony of Mariette. "Le vent Corus (N.O.) empêcherait, et a toujours empêché, de sortir du port de Gesoriacum [Boulogne]."—*Mariette*, p. 68.

³ "Leni Africo provectus."—*B. G.* v. 8.

⁴ "Le vent Africus encore aujourd'hui est le plus favorable à la traversée de Boulogne à Douvres."—*Mariette*, p. 34.

⁵ Orosius says that Cæsar sailed, "primo vere" (*Orosius*, cited *Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxix.); and Dion, "ἐπειδὴ πλώϊμα ἐγένετο" (*Dion*, xl. 1): but the precise time as stated in the text cannot be questioned.

occurrence occasioned a little delay. Dumnorix, the disaffected prince of the Ædui, brother of Divitiacus, the friend of Cicero¹, and whom Cæsar had insisted on taking with him to Britain, in order to prevent his mischievous meddling at home, availed himself of the confusion of embarkation to ride fairly off with his Æduan troopers. No sooner was Cæsar apprised of it than he stopped the embarkation of his own cavalry, and despatched them in pursuit, with directions to bring back Dumnorix dead or alive. Dumnorix was overtaken, and on his resistance was slain. The cavalry of Cæsar returned to the camp, and at sunset, which would be at 8.6 P. M., Cæsar set sail for Britain, with a moderate breeze from the south-west.²

The expedition consisted of five legions (which, allowing 4,200 men to each, would give a total of 21,000 foot), and a body of 2000 cavalry; and a fleet of 28 triremes and 560 transports, besides numerous tenders, which, added to the rest, made the formidable figure of 800 sail. The transports, however, were small; for if 560 vessels carried only 21,000 troops, each of them must have been freighted with about 37 only. One of the reasons which Cæsar assigns for this substitution of small row-boats for the heavier class of vessels, which had before carried 150 each, appears not to be so well founded as most of Cæsar's conclusions. He had learnt, he says, by experience, that, from the frequent changes of the tide in the channel, there was not the same violence of the waves.³ It will be seen in the sequel that

¹ B. G. i. 19. Cic. de Divin. i. 41.

² "Solis occasu naves solvit, leni Africo provectus." — *B. G.* v. 8.

³ "Quod propter crebras commutationes æstuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat." — *B. G.* v. 1

the Straits of Dover were, at all events, an overmatch for the small craft thus studiously prepared.

The light breeze from the south-west, which had wafted the fleet from Boulogne, died away as they stretched out to sea, and by midnight there was a dead calm. When the morning broke, which, as the sun rose at 4 A. M., would be about half-past three, the high cliffs between Folkestone and Dover were visible on their left.¹ The tide had been running eastward for the last six hours, and had carried them so far out of their course as to drift them beyond, or at least up to, the South Foreland. Cæsar had intended to effect his debarcation, as before, on Romney marsh, off Limne, and he was therefore quite out of the line. The tide, however, now again turned westward, and by dint of rowing, with the current in their favour, the whole fleet, transports as well as triremes, gained by 12 o'clock at noon, the familiar level shore just opposite Limne.²

So much controversy has been raised as to the place of debarcation, that I must call attention, in passing, to some material points in this account, which, if I mistake not, will prove incontestably that Cæsar must have sailed from Boulogne to Limne, and could not have

¹ "Leni Africo proventus, mediâ circiter nocte vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus æstu, ortâ luce, sub sinistrâ Britanniam relictam conspexit." — *B. G.* v. 8.

² "Tum rursus æstus commutationem secutus rêmis contendit ut eam partem insulæ caperet qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore." — *B. G.* v. 8. It has been suggested by an ingenious savant, that Cæsar did not seek the identical place where he had landed before, but another point which he had ascertained by inquiry the previous year to be more convenient. This, however, is not the natural meaning, and Dion did not so understand it. "Κατ'ῆρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον." — *Dion*, xl. 1.

landed at Deal; still less could have made the passage from the estuary of the Somme to Pevensey. I think no one can doubt that, when Cæsar discovered Britain on his left hand, he must have drifted through the Straits of Dover, or at least have been off the South Foreland, with the head of his vessel toward Deal. Now, this exactly agrees with the hypothesis that Cæsar set out from Boulogne, and made for the coast off Limne, but is not to be reconciled with any other theory. The captain of one of the steamers plying between Folkestone and Boulogne informed me, when I inquired some years ago what was the rate at which a vessel drifted in the channel, that the maximum drift for a single tide, i. e. for the six hours that the stream runs in the same direction, is *eighteen miles*, and the minimum nine miles.¹ The fleet of Cæsar was heavily freighted, and therefore, sinking deep into the water, would receive the full shock of the tide. Cæsar, too, was steering across the Strait, so that the broadside of

¹ Mr. Barton, of Dover, than whom I could not have a more intelligent correspondent, consulted for me an experienced pilot and also the captain of a vessel, and communicated to me the following results:—"The maximum velocity of the tide (that is, a spring tide) is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour; the minimum (that is when it is a neap tide) is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour. A loaded vessel would drift about 12 or 14 miles in the six hours, when the tide is at its greatest velocity, but when at the minimum not more than 6 or 7. This would also be influenced by the wind and the depth the vessel was in the water—the greater the draught, the greater the velocity." The harbour master of Folkestone, in a letter for which I have to thank him, dated December 16th, 1858, tells me "that an average vessel, broadside on, would drift two miles per hour, or perhaps more; but that of course presumes a perfect calm, as the action of the wind would materially affect the drift." The greatest velocity of the tide between Dover and Dungeness is stated in the *Tidal Tables for 1859*, p. 135, to be 3.3 knots per hour.

the vessel would be presented to the current. It is also to be remarked that the expedition was on the very day of the full moon, when, of course, it was a spring tide. The drift therefore, under these circumstances, would be the maximum, or near it. Now, if we draw a straight line from Boulogne to Limne, and then a line of sixteen miles, or thereabouts, at right angles to it up the Channel, it will take us to a point off the South Foreland¹; so that, with the head of the vessel to the north, the cliffs between Folkestone and Dover would be on the left hand. But how could this have happened had Cæsar sailed from the Somme to Pevensey — for, allowing even the maximum drift to the fleet through the night, it is quite impossible that Cæsar could have swerved so much from a line between the Somme and Pevensey as to have passed the Strait of Dover, or even to have entered it?

How, again, could he have been sailing to Deal, when, so soon as the deviation from the right course was discovered, Cæsar took the turn of the tide *back*, and *followed* the current², in order to gain his former landing-place? If he was making for Limne, this is just what he would do, i. e. having been forced by the tide to the east during the night, to a point off the South Foreland, he would in the morning, when the tide turned west, have it in his favour for a passage to Limne. But if he were sailing for Deal, so far from retracing his course, he ought still to have advanced in the same direction, and, at all events, could not be said to follow the tide when he was steering athwart it. Besides, as it must necessarily have been almost low water when

¹ A sea line from Limne to the South Foreland is by the Ordnance maps 16 miles.

² “Rursus æstus commutationem secutus.” — *B. G.* v. 8.

the tide turned, had he held on for Deal he would infallibly have struck on the Goodwin Sands.

I have mentioned that Cæsar sailed at the full moon on 18th July, but I have not stated upon what grounds this conclusion rests, and as it is not directly asserted in the Commentaries, you may fairly ask for the data on which it is based. In the first place, we are informed that when Cæsar, on his return from Illyricum, was amongst the Treviri, he was anxious not to consume the *summer* there¹, from which it results that it was *about* midsummer, or 24th June, and as he waited twenty-five days at Boulogne before he set sail, this would bring us to the latter half of July. But we have more direct testimony to the same effect from the letters of Cicero. I have already remarked that Q. Cicero, the orator's brother, was with Cæsar in this expedition, and as, during the whole time, a continual correspondence was maintained between Quintus and Mark, the latter would be well apprised of every movement of the expedition. Accordingly, M. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, dated 28th July, writes thus:—"From the letters of my brother Quintus, I conjecture that he is, *by this time*, in Britain."² We are, therefore, prepared to find that the fleet, according to Cicero's expectation, sailed in the latter half of July. M. Cicero, in another letter to Quintus, acknowledges the receipt of actual intelligence of his brother's arrival in Britain³; and, as the transmission of a letter from Britain to Rome occupied about a month, the debarcation must have been

¹ "Ne æstatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur." — *B. G.* v. 4.

² "Ex Quinti fratris literis suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia." — *Ep. Att.* iv. 15, 8.

³ "O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Timebam oceanum, timebam littus insulæ," &c. — *Cic. Ep. ad Q. Fr.* ii. 16.

about a month before the despatch of Cicero's letter to Quintus. I should fatigue you too much by going into the minutiae by which the date of the letter can be ascertained ; but, suffice it to say that there are certain allusions in it to the trials of Drusus and Scaurus, which prove it to have been written in the latter half of August. The landing in Britain, therefore, must have occurred in the latter half of July. So far we ascertain the month only, but we can make a nearer approach from another circumstance incidentally mentioned. We have seen that on the morning after the embarkation at Boulogne, and soon after daylight (which in the month of July would be about 3.30 A.M.), Cæsar took the turn of the tide *westward*. Now the tide begins to run westward in the Channel at 3.30 A. M. on the day after the *full* moon, and at the same hour on the day after the *new* moon: the day of embarkation, therefore, was one of two days — viz. either the 3d July, when it was *new* moon ; or 18th July, when it was *full* moon. The latter was certainly the day in question, for on the very night after the debarkation in Britain, Cæsar marched his army twelve miles into the interior¹, and he could not have done this when there was no moon, that is, in total darkness, but by the aid of the full moon no difficulty would be experienced. We may therefore infer, with the highest probability, that Cæsar sailed from Boulogne either on the very 18th July, B. C. 54, or, at all events, within a day or two either before or after it.

On reaching the shore off Limne, Cæsar expected, as in the previous year, to see the beach lined with the enemy in hostile attitude. Instead of that, not a living

¹ B. G. v. 9.

soul was to be seen. It was marvellous, but so it was. It appears that the Britons had intended to dispute the landing, and had swarmed along the coast for the purpose; but that, on descrying in the horizon 800 ships, they had despaired of success, and retired up the country. If, the year before, they had been unable to encounter eighty ships, how could they now withstand 800? The debarcation would be so extended that the Britons could not possibly cope with it at every point.¹ Cotta, indeed, who served under Cæsar in this campaign, affirms that the fleet consisted of even 1000 ships.² Besides it is certain that all the army of the Britons had not yet been collected, and the forces now in the field were chiefly, if not exclusively, the men of Kent and Sussex.

The debarcation was thus effected without obstruction, and the vessels, after having discharged their freights, were anchored in Dungeness Bay. The next thing was to fortify a camp. On the last occasion, it had been pitched on the shore, that the communication with the sea might not be cut off, and in order to afford protection to the triremes which had been hauled on the beach; but now Cæsar was at the head of an army which defied opposition, and, accordingly, he tells us that he selected for his camp an *appropriate* place.³ I should imagine, therefore, that the ground chosen was not, as before, on the marsh, but on the high platform overlooking it at Limne, perhaps on the site of Limne castle. Some may be of opinion that it was the camp at Shorncliffe, but this was at some distance from the place of landing, and was separated from it by an arm

¹ "Ἦπὸ τοῦ πολλὰχόσε ἅμα αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν." — *Dion*, xl. 1.

² *Athen*. vi. 105.

³ "Loco castris idoneo capto." — *B. G.* v. 9.

of the sea. The actual camp, too, was afterwards connected with the ships, which were drawn up within its defences; but, at Shorncliffe, there are no traces of any ramparts from the camp to the sea, and, indeed, the shore below the camp is not soft and open, as Cæsar describes, but is rocky and precipitous, so as to preclude the possibility of there drawing up the vessels.

Cæsar now elicited from some captives who fell into his hands by what road the enemy had retired. Canterbury was then, as at present, the capital of Kent, and the British troops had retreated in that direction. Cæsar, with his wonted activity, determined on following them at once, before their army was swelled by any accession of numbers. He, therefore, gave his troops a few hours' respite, and then, leaving Quintus Atrius, with ten cohorts and 300 horse, in command of the camp, commenced, at twelve o'clock at night, his march into the interior in quest of the enemy.

It was full moon¹, and between Limne the port, and Canterbury the capital, there was a good road; and Cæsar had Mandubert, the exiled prince of the Trinobantes, for his guide; and a night march, therefore, was easily effected. When they had accomplished twelve miles, and, therefore (as the sun rose about four), at break of day on the 20th July, the Britons were in sight. If we measure twelve miles from Limne along the road to Canterbury, it will bring us to Wye, on the southern bank of the river Stour. The Britons were posted in Challock Wood, an eminence about a mile off on the other, or north, side of the river. As many of you may not be acquainted with the locality, I will

¹ The moon rose between 7 and 8 P.M. and would set between 4 and 5 in the morning.

attempt a brief sketch of it. As you pass by the railway from Reigate to Dover, a line of chalk hills runs parallel on the left hand. At Ashford they are intersected by the valley of the Stour. The termination of the chalk range on the north of the Stour is the highest point in that part, and is, and no doubt always was, covered by a dense wood. I walked up to it from Wye, and never beheld such a sylvan rampart. No position could be more suitable to the tactics of the Britons. By felling trees and laying them lengthwise they had formed a stockade, and, as the wood was traversed in all directions by alleys or lanes, the cavalry and charioteers could issue from their covert at any moment. Besides, the eminence presented a most extensive view of the adjacent country, on the north as far as the Thames, and on the south as far as Limne, so that the Britons could watch the Roman line of march all the way from their camp. On the southern side of the Stour, the chalk hills again rise up to their former height, and the intervening valley, a little Thermopylæ, was the only practicable road for the train of an army towards Canterbury. The Britons, by thus seizing on Challock Wood, obliged the enemy either to attack them at a disadvantage, or, by passing through the gorge, to endanger the communication with their camp supplies.

Cæsar tells us that the fastness of the Britons was strong by nature and stronger by art, and suggests that the defences had been prepared long before against some domestic foe.¹ If so, we must imagine (and we can scarcely do so without a smile) that war

¹ "Locum nacti egregie et naturâ et opere munitum, quem domesticus belli, ut videbatur, causâ jam ante præparaverant." — *B. G.* v. 9.

had been declared by the four kings of Kent, of whom we shall speak presently, against as many kings of the Regni, or people of Sussex. Challock Wood, then, was the great military post of the Britons; but, should you look there for the remains of walls and ditches, you will probably search in vain, for the Commentaries speak not of fortifications composed of bricks and stone, but only of a continuous sylvan barricade.¹ Dion Cassius goes more into detail, and clearly implies that there was no wall, or vallum, in the Roman fashion, but that trees had been cut and piled one upon another, so as in a certain sense only to claim the character of a rampart.²

As Cæsar with his legions approached the Stour, the Britons, who from the heights had been observing his advance, sent down their cavalry and charioteers to dispute the passage of the river, not that they could hope to prevent his crossing, but with the view of inflicting as much loss as possible. Now a river as a military defence has a double aspect. Either it is full, when the depth of water is a serious obstacle to the free movement of the troops, more particularly when encumbered with arms; or the stream is low, when the channel of the river forms a fosse, or ditch, which gives the enemy on the opposite bank the advantage of higher ground. In the month of July the beds of rivers have usually but little water, but this might not have been so here; for, when I was at Wye even later in the year, viz. in August, the Stour for some distance had the appearance of a considerable river, and was full to the brim, which was owing simply to the circum-

¹ "Crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi." — *B. G.* v. 9.

² "Τά τε γὰρ περίξ ξύλα ἔκοψαν, καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνένησαν, ὥστε ἐν χαρακώματι τρόπον τινα εἶναι." — *Dion*, xl. 2.

stance that at Wye is a mill-dam by which the water is penned back. I should rather imagine, however, that, at the time of which we are speaking, the Stour was such as I saw it below the mill-dam, viz. a broad and nearly empty channel; for it is stated in the Commentaries that, when the legions attempted the passage, the Britons encountered them from the higher ground, which I take to mean from the elevation of the bank.¹ At length the river was forced, though not with impunity², and the Britons withdrew into their defences. Cæsar now advanced upon the wood; and desultory assaults on the one side, and sallies on the other, were frequent along the line. Eventually, Cæsar's seventh legion, covering themselves with the testudo formed by holding the shield over the head, so as to present an impenetrable roof, threw up a mound against the barricade, and so scaled it³, and thus retrieved the disgrace which the Britons had inflicted upon them the preceding year in the corn field at Limne. Cæsar, however, did not follow up his victory, partly from fear of an ambush, and partly from the lateness of the hour. The next day, 21st July, the army was ordered to advance in pursuit, in three divisions. However, they had not proceeded far, and the rear-guard was still in sight, when suddenly they were recalled, from disastrous intelligence brought in hot haste from the camp.

It seems that a violent hurricane from the east had swept the sea the preceding night, and the eight hundred

¹ "Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et prælium committere cøperunt."—*B. G.* v. 9. So, "ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset."—*B. G.* v. 9.

² "Συχροὺς ἀνταπέκτειναν."—*Dion*, xl. 2.

³ "Testudine factâ et aggere ad munitiones adjecto."—*B. G.* v. 9.

vessels lying at anchor in Dungeness Bay had broken away from their moorings, and been dashed against each other, and most of them had been thrown upon the shore. In short, very serious damage had been sustained, and mounted messengers had been immediately sent off with the intelligence. Cæsar returned at once, and found the sad reality nothing short of the description. Forty ships were utterly lost; the rest were miserably shattered, but capable of repair. The pioneers and carpenters of the army were now set to work, and other artisans were sent for from the Continent; and Labienus, who had been left in Gaul, was ordered to employ the legions which were with him in laying down and completing as many new vessels as possible.

To prevent the recurrence of such another disaster, Cæsar determined, though it was an undertaking of Herculean labour, to haul up the whole of his fleet on dry land, and secure them against any assault from the enemy, by placing them within the defences of the camp. The legionaries, 21,000 in number, were engaged upon this arduous task for ten days and ten nights, i.e. until the 31st July, without intermission.¹

If Cæsar's camp was pitched, as is likely, on the table-land overlooking the marsh near Limne, in short, on the site where Limne castle now stands, we should look for the naval defences immediately contiguous; and if we walk down the slope from the castle to the marsh, we come upon a very remarkable ruin called *Stuttfall*, a name said to be composed of the two Saxon words *stoute wall*, or strong fort. Others derive it from

¹ "Ipse, etsi res erat multæ operæ ac laboris, tamen commodissimum esse statuit omnes naves subduci, et cum castris unâ munitione conjungi. In his rebus circiter dies x consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis." — *B. G.* v. 11.

two Saxon words signifying a “fallen place;” and others from *stæd-weall*, sea shore. That Stuttfall was erected by Cæsar I will not take upon myself to affirm, but in many respects it answers most singularly to the character of the naval *castrum* now constructed. Stuttfall is certainly a Roman work, as is evident from the layers of Roman tiles. The walls are of amazing thickness, and enclose, it is said, no less a space than ten or twelve¹ acres of ground. Cæsar might, therefore, well describe it as *castra egregie munita*, a camp wonderfully strong.² I have examined it very closely, and the first observation that occurs to one is, How could a military fortress have been pitched on the side of the hill, and not on the summit? There must certainly have been some other than a mere military object in view. The castle above shows that the builders knew where a fortress should be placed. The wonder is increased when we remark the broken ramparts on the north, and east, and west sides of the square, and look in vain on the south, at the foot of the descent, for any trace of a fortification. Indeed, in this direction, the area is perfectly open. The explanation of this is as follows:—In ancient times the sea, as is proved incontestably by the fragments of ships and anchors which have been dug up, flowed up to the very base of the hill, and formed there the port of Limne. Stuttfall, therefore, was built for the protection of the shipping; so that, naturally enough, the site was not like the castle on the summit, but on the slope toward the foot. The fourth or southern side of the square, being washed by the waves, needed no artificial defence. Cæsar then might

¹ 10 acres (*Lambarde's Peramb.* 184); 12 acres (*Stukeley's Itin.* 123).

² B. G. v. 11.

have brought his vessels up the creek of Limne, and have drawn them on shore beneath his camp, and then have surrounded them by this strong massive rampart. It is also observable that the wall is built in many places as if in a hurry, from materials supplied by other more ancient buildings.

It will be objected, perhaps, that a wall of such prodigious strength, round a space of ten or twelve acres, could not possibly have been completed in ten days; but we must remember that 21,000 legionaries and 2000 cavalry were employed upon it day and night, and not only so, but workmen also were brought over from Gaul. Besides, it is not said that it was *completed* in ten days, but only that it was in such a state of forwardness by that time that Cæsar could with safety leave ten cohorts and 300 horse there, and return himself in search of the enemy. The work may have been brought to perfection in a much longer period by the troops which remained in garrison.

If it be thought a difficulty that a numerous fleet should have been dragged up an ascent like that at Stuttfall, let it be remembered that the year before, their fleet, when resting on the sea beach, had been swamped by the spring tide; and Cæsar, anxious to prevent any similar accident, had since constructed his ships of so little bulk (carrying each a freight of 37 men only), that they could all be drawn on land with the greatest ease. Stuttfall, from its gentle elevation above the sea level, would therefore be exactly the place where we might expect that the fleet would be secured.

If it be said that even ten or twelve acres of ground, though a large space, would not suffice for 560 ships, to say nothing of the 240 tenders, we reply that the rest

might have been drawn up on the marsh immediately below, for mounds of earth like remains of fortifications are still to be seen there ; and, as on the marsh advantage would be taken of wet ditches, the same strength of walls would not be required as on the slope, where the ramparts themselves were the only protection.

It must be confessed that the coins found at Stuttfall are those only of the Roman emperors from Antoninus Pius to Valens¹ ; but this does not prove that Stuttfall was not a Roman station in the time of Cæsar, for his sojourn in Britain was very brief, about two months only, and for a hundred years after him the Romans never set foot upon the island. Even if the identical walls which remain were not reared by Cæsar, it is still open to conjecture that his naval camp was on this spot, and that the Romans of an after-age adopted his plan, and built the present gigantic rampart in the place of a more hasty circumvallation thrown up by the great captain.

It was while Cæsar and his army were detained by the seaside that Q. Cicero took the opportunity of announcing his arrival in Britain to M. Tully. The feelings which the letter excited in the breast of the accomplished orator are as full of nature as they are replete with vanity. “Now,” he says, in his answer to Quintus, “I come last to that which should, perhaps, have stood first ! O that delightful letter of yours from Britain ! I had been so fearful of the ocean, so fearful of the coasts of the island ! I do not speak slightly of all the rest, but the rest carries more of hope than of fear, and I am rather upon the tiptoe of expectation than under serious alarm. But I see that you have a

¹ Roach Smith's *Antiq. of Richbor and Limne*.

brave subject for composition. What sites ! what descriptions of places and things ! what manners ! what nations ! what battles ! and, above all, what a commander-in-chief !! I will gladly assist you, as you asked me, in what you wish. I will forward you the verses you desire, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. But, I say, you seem to have forgotten *me* ! For, tell me, my brother, *what thought Cæsar of my verses* ? for he wrote me word before, that he had read the first book, and that, taking the commencement as a sample, he had never read anything finer, not even of the Greeks. The rest he had reserved till he was more at leisure (ῥαθυμότερα) : for I use his very word. But tell me candidly whether either the subject or the style fails to please. No need to fear, for I shall not think a whit the worse of myself. Out with it, and write like a true brother as you are.”¹

Cæsar now (about August) put himself again at the head of his legions, to recover the position which such unwelcome tidings from the fleet had constrained him to abandon. During the interval which had elapsed the British cause had prospered, and now assumed a very different aspect. We have seen that Cassivelaun, king of the Catyeuchlani (Hertfordshire and Middlesex), had triumphed in the war against Imanuent, king of the Trinobantes (Essex), had slain Imanuent, driven out his son Mandubert, and possessed himself of the

¹ Cic. Ep. ad Q. Fr. ii. 16.

² B. G. v. 20. The name of Mandubert appears to be derived from “Man” in its modern sense, for it is translated by the word Andro-gorius (*Oros. cited Mon. Hist. Brit. p. lxxix.*), or Androgius (*Bede, cited ib. 110*), evidently derived from ἀνὴρ, a man. The same word also entered into the name of his father I-man-uent. One is almost tempted to interpret Imanuentius, the man of Venta or Norwich ; and Mandubratius, the man of Dover (i. e. Dover Court) or Harwich.

kingdom of the vanquished. Cassivelaun's territory was now bounded by the Thames to the south, and by the ocean to the east. According to Cæsar, it was divided from the maritime states by the Thames, at the distance of about eighty miles from the sea.¹ This is interpreted by some to mean that Cassivelaun's borders began at the distance of eighty miles from the *mouth* of the Thames, but surely the more natural signification is simply that the Thames, which was the boundary line to the south, was eighty miles from the Kentish coast; and, if we measure from Limne, where Cæsar landed, to the point where he is said to have forded the river, the distance would be about eighty Roman miles.

This aggrandisement of Cassivelaun was, of course, regarded by the states to the south of the Thames with no little jealousy; and it was only on hearing of the enormous preparations which the Romans were making in Gaul, that, feeling themselves utterly incapable of meeting the storm alone, they had dropped under the pressure of the moment all minor considerations, and required the aid of Cassivelaun, and constituted him the generalissimo of their united forces. The rapidity of Cæsar's movements had taken the troops of the southerners by surprise, and Cæsar, but for the necessity of returning to the fleet, might, by following up the blow struck at Challock Wood, have prevented the junction of the reinforcements from the north. But, during the ten days which were spent at the seaside, Cassivelaun with his auxiliaries had arrived at the British camp,

¹ "Cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX."—*B. G.* v. 11. Eighty miles Roman would be seventy-three miles and a fraction English.

and the assembled troops were now at least double the former number. The charioteers alone amounted to upwards of 4,000.¹

As Cæsar advanced from Limne, the British cavalry and charioteers were sent forward to harass the enemy during their march.² From the naval camp to Wye was one continual skirmish between the mounted troops of the two armies. Many fell on both sides, without any material advantage. The Romans could always retire upon their legions; and the Britons could always take refuge in their woods. The flight of the latter, however, was not uncommonly a feint to draw away the Roman cavalry to a distance from the legionaries, when the Britons would suddenly wheel about, and seldom failed to give proofs of their superiority.

Notwithstanding these desperate encounters, Cæsar's legions continued steadily to press forward in the direction of Wye. At the close of the day they halted, and proceeded to mark out the camp for the night. Two cohorts kept guard while the camp was being intrenched, when the Britons all at once issued from their woods, and drove the two cohorts before them. Cæsar immediately ordered up two other cohorts to their support, but such was the impetuosity of the British charge that the two auxiliary cohorts were broken, and the Britons cut their way through, and then brought themselves off in safety, in defiance of every obstacle. Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was one of their victims.³ The matter was now growing serious, and Cæsar, to prevent further loss, was obliged to bring up the best part of his army, when the Britons were repulsed. On the southern

¹ B. G. v. 19.

² “Ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ νεώριον σφῶν ἔρμησαν.” — *Dion*, xl. 2.

³ B. G. v. 15.

bank of the Stour, a little to the east of Wye, and opposite Chilham, is a tumulus called "Julliber's Grave," and tradition says that it takes its name from Julius's tribune Laberius, who fell on this day, and was here buried. The locality agrees well, and, had the name of the tribune been Julius Laberius, the similarity of sound in Julliber, as an abbreviation of Julius Laberius, would have been at least a curious coincidence. Unfortunately the prænomen was Quintus, so that the antiquary is obliged to borrow the name of Julius from Cæsar himself. Of course I attach no importance to the popular belief, though there is nothing unreasonable or absurd on the face of it.

The next day (which would be about 2nd August) the Britons showed themselves at intervals on the hills, but neither Britons nor Romans seemed disposed to renew the conflict. At length, about noon¹, Cæsar was under the necessity of dispatching a foraging expedition; and he showed his respect for the foe by the force which he employed. He had brought from Gaul five legions and 2,000 horse. One legion and 300 horse had been left in charge of the naval camp², and he had with him four legions and 1,700 horse. He now retained a single legion within the intrenchments, and ordered C. Trebonius, one of his ablest officers, with three legions, more than 12,000 men, and the whole of the cavalry, to search the country for plunder. While the foragers were engaged upon their nefarious occupation, the Britons suddenly started from their hiding places and commenced a desperate attack, even grasping at the standards. C. Trebonius answered well to the high trust reposed in him, for his troops were

¹ "Meridie." — *B. G.* v. 17.

² *B. G.* v. 9, 11.

instantly under arms and in order, and not only sustained the onset, but drove the enemy back; and the cavalry so well followed up the blow that the Britons could not recover themselves, and a decisive victory was gained. This fatal encounter may have taken place at Chilham, which lies a little to the east of Wye, but on the opposite side of the river, and is said to be a corruption of Julham, or Julius's (i. e. Cæsar's) Town.¹ I should add that Cæsar's veracity as to his success has been questioned by the Romans themselves; for Dion states explicitly that the battle was a drawn one.²

Cassivelaun was convinced that his troops, most of them probably raw recruits, however obstinate their valour, could not resist the serried legions of Rome in a pitched battle. From this time, therefore, his tactics were changed. The army was broken up into different bodies, so as to distract the attention of the enemy and cut off stragglers and harass his movements, but never to offer a general engagement.³

It was about this period that Q. Cicero again wrote to his brother, and it would seem that the tone of it was not very encouraging, for M. Tully, in answer, writes merely, "Concerning affairs in Britain, I collect

¹ Many places have been similarly derived, as Julium, Julii Forum, and the Julian Alps; but Chilham from Julham seems somewhat apocryphal. If Chilham be derived from Julius, probably Challock Wood is also, for Chilham and Challock evidently contain the same element.

² "Κατὰ χάραν ἀμφοτέροι ἐμειναν."—*Dion*, xl. 3. As to Cæsar's veracity generally, see *Suet. Jul.* 56.

³ "Ex hac fuga protinus, quæ undique convenerant auxilia discesserunt; neque post id tempus unquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt."—*B. G.* v. 17.

from your letter that there is no ground for fear and none for congratulation.”¹

Cassivelaun, in execution of his well-concerted plan, now withdrew, at the head of his own proper army, in the direction of his hereditary dominions on the north of the Thames. The active Roman commander would not be far behind him, and we may imagine that on each day the post which Cassivelaun quitted in the morning was occupied by his pursuer in the evening. If, as is likely, there was at that time no bridge over the Thames in the neighbourhood of London, it would be necessary to seek the first ford higher up the stream.² All is conjecture, but it may be suggested that Cassivelaun retired, followed by his antagonist, from the banks of the Stour along the southern side of the chalk hills running from Wye to Dorking, and then down the left bank of the Mole to the nearest point of the Thames, which would be at Walton.³ The common opinion is that the armies crossed the Thames at Coway Stakes, a little above Walton and below Weybridge, at Shepperton, where is the village of Halliford, so named from the ford.

Cassivelaun had no sooner placed the river be-

¹ “De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nihil esse, nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus.” — *Ep. ad Q. Fr.* iii. 1.

² About a hundred years afterwards there was a bridge, apparently not far from London. *Dion*, lx. 20.

³ Others think that he marched by the most frequented road in the direction of London. It appears from *Anton. Itin.* that there were afterwards two roads from Limne to London, one direct, thus:—

Londinio

Durobrivis (Rochester)	.	.	.	.	XXVII
Duroverno (Canterbury)	.	.	.	.	XXV
Ad Portum Lemanis (Limne)	.	.	.	.	XVI

tween himself and his pursuer than he fenced the northern bank with *chevaux-de-frise* of sharp stakes, some of them in the bed of the river¹, for the purpose of checking, if not of preventing, the advance of the enemy. At the distance of a mile and a half to the south of Coway Stakes is an eminence overlooking the ford, called St. George's Hill, and here Cæsar may have pitched his camp, for there are still the remains of a Roman *castrum* on the crown, double-trenched, and containing more than thirteen acres², and called traditionally Cæsar's camp. The very name, also, of Walton is said to be derived from the *vallum*, or wall, here constructed. The two hostile armies had not long confronted one another on the opposite banks when Cæsar gave orders, notwithstanding the obstacles, to force the ford. The horse took the lead, closely followed by the foot, and both horse and foot dashed into the stream and advanced upon the enemy with such impetuosity, though the legions were up to their necks in water³, that the Britons, who were lightly armed, could not sustain the weight of the charge, and fled in confu-

the other circuitous—

Londinio

Noviomago (Croydon)	X
Vagniacis (Maidstone)	XVIII
Durobrivis (Rochester)	IX
Durolevo (Milton or Faversham)	XIII
Duroverno (Canterbury)	XII
Ad Portum Lemanis (Limne)	XVI

78.

¹ "Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita; ejusdemque generis sub aquâ defixæ flumine tegebantur."—*B. G.* v. 18.

² "13 a. 3 r."—*Manning's Surrey*, vol. ii.

³ "Cum capite solo ex aquâ extarent."—*B. G.* v. 18.

sion. Such, at least, is the narrative of Cæsar, though it does not very well accord with the resolute front shown by the Britons on other occasions. Polyænus would attribute Cæsar's success to the presence of an elephant, an animal wholly unknown to the natives, and presenting, from its stupendous size, a supernatural appearance.¹ It is scarcely credible, however, that Cæsar should have possessed an elephant in Gaul, and still less so, if he did, that he should not have mentioned it.

The passage of the Thames, so little disputed at the time between the two hosts, has since been most warmly contested amongst historians and antiquarians. Some will have it that Cæsar crossed the river at Westminster, where, in a dry summer, the river is fordable²; others, as Maitland, at Chelsea³; others, as Lemon, at

¹ "Καῖσαρ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ ποταμὸν μέγαν ἐπεχείρει περαιούσθαι. Βασιλεὺς Βρεττανῶν Κασόλαννος ἀνεῖργε μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἄρμάτων. Καίσαρι μέγιστος ἐλέφας εἶπετο, ζῶων Βρεττανοῖς οὐχ ἑωραμένον. Τοῦτον σιδηραῖς φολίσιν ὀχυρώσας καὶ πύργον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μέγαν ὑψώσας, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ἐπιστήσας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ρεῦμα ἐμβαίνειν. Βρεττανοὶ δὲ ἐξεπλάγησαν ἀόρατον καὶ ὑπερφνὲς θηρίον ἰδόντες. Βρεττανοὶ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ἄρμασιν ἔφευγον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀκινδύνως τὸν ποταμὸν διέβησαν ἐνὶ ζῳῇ τοὺς πολεμίους φοβήσαντες."—*Polyæn. Stratag.* vi. It is said that Claudius also, in A. D. 43, took elephants with him to Britain. *Dion*, lx. 21.

² "Even now, in similar seasons (two dry summers consecutively), the river is fordable at Westminster, as it was on the 19th of this very month, July, 1846."—*H. L. L.: Gent. Mag.* vol. xxvi. (1846) p. 256.

³ "Sounding the river at several neap tides, from Wandsworth to London Bridge, I discovered a ford (on Sept. 18, 1732) about 90 feet west of the S.W. angle of Chelsea College garden, whose channel, in a right line from N.E. to S.W., was no more than 4 feet 7 inches deep, where the day before (it blowing hard from the west) my waterman informed me that the water there was above a foot

the Earl of Dysart's grounds at Petersham, opposite Twickenham¹; others, as Horsley, at Kingston²; others, as Bishop Kennett, at Wallingford³; and others, as Daines Barrington⁴, are certain that Cæsar never passed the Thames at all, but only the Medway, called by Cæsar the Thames by mistake. It may not, perhaps, be uninteresting if I trace this learned controversy from the commencement.

The tradition that Cæsar forded the Thames at Coway Stakes is as old as Bede, for he says, "The footsteps thereof are seen to this day, and it appears upon the view that each of them (i. e. the stakes) is as thick as a man's thigh, and that, being wrapped in *lead*, they are fastened in the bed of the river immovably."⁵ No place is here mentioned by name, but, as it has never been suggested that stakes were to be found elsewhere in the Thames, no doubt Coway Stakes is the spot alluded to.

The learned Camden is very positive upon the subject, not to say a little egotistical: "It is impossible (he writes in 1607) I should be mistaken in the places, because here the river is *scarce six feet deep*, and the place at this day from those stakes is called Coway Stakes. To which we may add that Cæsar makes the bounds of Cassivelaun, where he fixes his passage, to

lower; and it is probable that at such tides, before the course of the river was obstructed either by banks or bridge, it must have been considerably shallower." — *Maitland's London*, p. 8.

¹ Manning's Surrey, vol. ii. p. 760.

² Horsley's Britain.

³ Archæolog. ii. 145.

⁴ Ib. ii.

⁵ "Quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur, et videtur inspectantibus quod singulæ earum, ad modum humani femoris grossæ et circumfusæ plumbo, immobiliter erant in profundum fluminis infixæ." — *Bed. Ecc. Hist.* i. 2.

be about eighty miles distant from the sea which washes the east part of Kent, where he landed. Now this ford we speak of is at the same distance from the sea, and *I am the first that I know of who has mentioned and settled it in its proper place.*"¹

Samuel Gale, in 1734, read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries², in which he subscribed to Camden's opinion, and gives us some description of the stakes at that time—that the stakes, from their antiquity, resembled *ebony*, and would admit a polish, and were not the least rotted; that they were young *oak trees*³, and no mark of any tool, and the thickness of a man's thigh; "but whether," he says, "they were covered with *lead* at the ends fixed in the bottom of the river is a particular I could not learn." And he adds in a note, "Since writing of this, one of these stakes entire was actually weighed up between two loaded barges at the time of a great flood by the late Rev. — Clark, jun., of Long Ditton."

However, in 1769, the Hon. Daines Barrington appeared in opposition before the same Society⁴, and asserted that the Coway Stakes were nothing more than the remains of a fishing-weir, for that a fisherman of Shepperton, who had been employed by some gentlemen to take up the stakes, had conducted him (Daines Barrington), at his desire, to the place, when he found, from the explanation of the said fisherman,

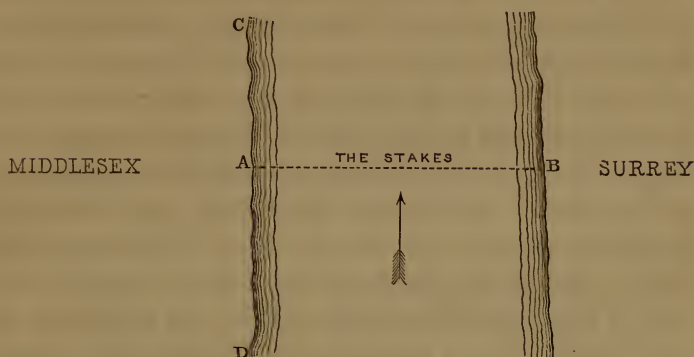
¹ Camd. Brit. vol. i. p. 183.

² Archæolog. i. p. 184.

³ "I have been informed that the stakes at Coway were very thick pieces of *yew tree*." — *W. Stukeley: Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxvii. (1797) p. 198. "The piles," according to another account, "were of *chestnut wood*." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. lix. (1787) p. 222.

⁴ Archæolog. ii. p. 141.

that the stakes were not along the northern bank of the river, but athwart the stream, thus:—



Whereas, to prevent the passage of an army, the stakes should have been planted longitudinally, from c to d. He also draws an argument from Camden's own statement, that the river there was scarce six feet deep, for, says he, "to permit infantry to cross by fording with their heads above water, the depth should not be more than four and a half feet."

On the other hand, a writer under the name of Clio, in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (vol. lix. A.D. 1787, p. 222), would cut the matter short by positive testimony that the passage was at Coway Stakes, for, "upon the rebuilding of Walton Bridge," he says, "two years ago, they found several very valuable articles, among the rest a perfect spear with the name of *Julius Cæsar* indented legibly in Roman characters!" The maker's name is not mentioned, but Birmingham is a very ancient town, and the Birmingham trade-mark might, no doubt, upon minute inspection, have been discovered!!

In the second volume of Manning's "Surrey," published

in 1809¹, and edited by Mr. Bray, the cause of Coway Stakes finds another zealous defender. As to the position of Barrington that the stakes were a fishing-weir, it is there asked by the writer (and, I must say, not without reason), why a weir of such strength should be found only in this part of the river, and nothing similar elsewhere? Then, as to the objection urged by Barrington, that the stakes stretched across the river, and so would not prevent a passage, a Mr. Crawter, who knew well the neighbourhood of Walton and the river, is called as a witness, and deposes that the ford was in a curve, and that the stakes cut the curve in two places, so that no one, as the stakes were fixed, could use the ford, as may be seen by the following sketch:—



It is added, in confirmation of this being the ford in question, that *spurs* and fragments of spears, &c., had been dug up at different times in a field called Warclose², in the parish of Shepperton; but, before we

¹ Page 759.

² D. Barrington would probably suggest that "war-close" is a corruption of "weir-close."

admit the argument from the spurs, it must be proved, which may be a matter of difficulty, that *the Romans wore spurs!*

We have in this history the best account of the stakes themselves; and the nature of them may lead us farther on the road to truth. It is said that "one Simmons, a fisherman, who had lived there, and known the river all his life, told the editor (Mr. Bray) in 1807, that at the place called Coway Stakes he had weighed up several stakes of the size of his thigh, about six feet long, *shod with iron*, the wood very black, and so hard as to turn an axe. Their boats sometimes ran against them. The late Earl of Sandwich used to come to Shepperton to fish, and gave him half a guinea a-piece for some of them. There were none in any other part of the river that he ever heard of. One now remained in the river, which they were not able to weigh. It was visible when the water was clear. His net had been caught and torn by it. His tradition was that they *formed part of a bridge built by Julius Cæsar*, and he described them to have *stood in two rows, as if going across the river, about nine feet asunder as the water runs, and about four feet asunder as crossing the river.*"

I believe that this poor fisherman of Shepperton has shown more good sense than all the antiquaries, and that he has hit upon the right solution of the stakes, viz. that they were the piles of an ancient bridge. How could stakes in two rows nine feet asunder one way, viz. in the course of the stream, and four feet another, viz. across the stream, be intended as a barricade against an enemy, when a foot soldier, not to say a trooper, could pass through them in every direction? How, again, is it credible that the stakes, which must have

been prepared in a hurry, should have been shod with iron in a systematic way, as in times of peace, for the foundations of a bridge? It does not follow, however, that, because there had been a bridge, Cæsar did not here ford the river; on the contrary, the circumstance rather favours the supposition that he did. Assuming a bridge to have existed there in the time of Cæsar, Cassivelaun would naturally retreat over it with his army, and then break it down and saw off the tops of the piles. The stakes which were driven by Cassivelaun himself must have been *along the side of the northern bank*. Cæsar nowhere hints that they were *across the river*. Who can say that Cæsar did not himself construct the bridge? for he was proud of his mechanical skill, as is evident from his detailed account of the bridge thrown by him over the Rhine the preceding year.¹ This, also, would account for the strong camp on St. George's Hill, viz. to protect the bridge, for the purpose of covering his retreat, should he find the enemy too strong for his daily-diminishing force. As for Daines Barrington's argument that because the water here was nearly six feet, it was, therefore, too deep to allow the Roman infantry to ford, the answer is that the depth of the stream depends upon the season; and we know from the Commentaries that, in fact, the year B.C. 54 was an extraordinarily dry one², so that the river in the month of August, when Cæsar was there, may easily be conceived to have been a foot and a half lower than it usually is at the same period under ordinary circumstances.³

¹ B. G. iv. 17.

² "Propter siccitates." — B. G. v. 24.

³ Stow mentions a curious fact: "The river," he says, "has several times been blown almost dry, so that one on shore could not see any water in it from London Bridge to Westminster, particularly

It is not to be forgotten that Coway Stakes agrees with Cæsar's description in several curious particulars. In the first place, as the Thames is a tidal river up to Teddington (Tide-end-town), and as Cæsar, who is a most accurate observer of natural phenomena, makes no allusion to high or low water¹ when he was almost necessarily led to it in speaking of the depth of the stream and the stakes driven into its bed, we may reasonably infer that the passage of the river was at least above the point to which the ebb and flow of the tide extends. Again, at the point of passage the river was fordable, *uno omnino loco*, in only one place; and, further, it was at the distance of eighty Roman miles from Limne, the place of debarkation,—both which circumstances concur at Coway Stakes. We may also add that, while the river has in many places shifted its channel, we may be sure that there has been a shallow here for more than eleven centuries at least, as the stakes are referred to by the Venerable Bede.

We may close the discussion with an extract from Brayley's "History of Surrey," who gives the latest account of the ford. "Between Walton Bridge," he says, "and Halliford, in Shepperton parish, the river flows in a semicircular course of great extent, and includes a large tract of low meadows within the bend. It was here that Coway Ford crossed the stream in a

on Sept. 5, 1592, and again on Sept. 14, 1716; of the last I was an eyewitness. Thousands of people passed over it on foot."—*Stow's London*, p. 16.

¹ The phenomenon of a tidal river would be particularly striking to an Italian, and accordingly Pomponius Mela remarks: "Flumina alternis motibus modo in pelagus modo retro fluentia."—*Mela*, iii. 6.

circuitous direction downward, and, within memory, it has been traced by persons wading through the current when the waters were low. Within the last thirty or forty years, however, the bed, or channel, of the river has been much deepened in this part, under the superintendence of the City authorities, in order to improve the navigation, in consequence of which all remains of the ford have been destroyed, and every trace of Coway Stakes obliterated.”¹

Should any one happen to be at Walton or Weybridge, and desire to see the exact spot where these famous stakes formerly stood, he will find it at the distance of a furlong to the west of the northern end of Walton Bridge.²

Cæsar was now on the northern bank of the Thames, and, as the British army had been dispersed, with the exception of 4000 charioteers, Cæsar, with Mandubert, the exiled king of the Trinobantes, who was still in his camp, marched in the direction of the Trinobantes. It was hoped that, on the Roman approach, they would at once throw off their forced allegiance to Cassivelaun, and welcome back Mandubert as their king, and Cæsar as his ally. Cassivelaun meanwhile, at the head of his 4000 charioteers, watched from day to day the Roman line of march, and, when he was least expected, sallied forth from the woods and fell upon their rear or intercepted their stragglers. Cassivelaun also showed his generalship by the adoption of the course which was to have been practised had Napoleon the Great ever thrown himself upon the British shore. By whatever route Cæsar moved the country was depopu-

¹ Brayley's Hist. of Surr. vol. ii. p. 344.

² Lyson's Environs of London, article "Shepperton."

lated; stores were carried off, and the cattle driven into the woods.¹ The Roman cavalry were therefore obliged in foraging to range to a great distance, but no sooner did they part from the legions than the charioteers, who were superior in number, started from their hiding-places, and seldom failed to cut some of them off. The upshot was, that, if the cavalry went out to forage, they returned in diminished numbers, and if they remained with the legions the army wanted supplies. The latter alternative was thought the less evil, and Cæsar issued a peremptory order that the cavalry should on no pretence quit the protection of the legions.² Cæsar is reluctant to confess it, but it is evident from this that his cavalry were beaten by the British charioteers. Indeed, the very name of *essedum* or war-car now became a bugbear to the Roman troops; and Cicero, in writing about this time to Trebatius, a young jurisconsult, who, having failed at the bar, had been recommended by the orator to Cæsar's notice (but without much effect), playfully alludes to it by saying: "I hear that in Britain is neither silver nor gold, and if so, let me advise you to capture one of the *essedæ*, and return as fast as you can."³ And again: "You, whose profession is to cater for others, see that in Britain you be not caught yourself by the *essedarii*."⁴ These letters assumed that Trebatius was in Britain, whither he had

¹ "Pecora atque homines ex agris in sylvas compellebat."—*B. G.* v. 19.

² "Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur," &c.—*B. G.* v. 19.

³ "Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras."—*Cic. Ep. Div.* vii. 7.

⁴ "Tu qui cæteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab Essedariis decipiaris caveto."—*Ep. Div.* vii. 6.

intended going; but, in fact, on nearing the ocean, he had lost heart and remained in Gaul; and Cicero, when he heard of it, again banters him good-humouredly about the *essedarii*. "Had you gone to Britain," he says, "you would have been the best lawyer in all the island! But (to have my joke, as you invite me) you seem in the camp to be much less forward than in the forum. You, who were so fond of swimming, had you no stomach for swimming on the ocean? You who were so cunning of fence, could you not face the *essedarii*?"¹ Cæsar himself also about this time wrote to Cicero, but could not boast of any decisive advantage, observing merely in general terms that matters in Britain went on favourably enough. The letter was dated the 1st of September, B. C. 54.²

The wise policy of Cassivelaun was now beginning to bear its fruits, and Cæsar was already reduced to great straits in his commissariat, when the Trinobantes, now that Cæsar with his legions was in the vicinity, broke out, as had been anticipated, in open rebellion against Cassivelaun, and sent an embassy to Cæsar with an offer of submission, if he would place Mandubert on the throne and guarantee them security against the arms of their oppressor. Cæsar snatched at the opportunity of rescuing his army from their present distress, and stipulated only that hostages should be given to secure good faith, and, what was of primary importance, that they should im-

¹ Cic. Ep. Div. vii. 10. So: "Sin æstivorum timor te debilitat aliquod excogita, ut fecisti de Britannia."—vii. 14. "Quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te præbuisi plane non reprehendo."—vii. 16. "In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de rebus illis non audiam."—vii. 17.

² Cic. Ep. ad Quint. Fr. iii. 1.

mediately furnish him with a supply of corn.¹ Mandubert returned with the Trinobantian envoys, and the hostages and supplies were despatched to the camp with all haste.

The Roman general turned this incident to the very best account. The Trinobantes were now his friends, and their houses and crops were spared, and the soldiery were strictly prohibited from offering the least violence within the dominions of Mandubert.² As a contrast to this, all the adjacent parts, where the population was still hostile, were a smoking desert. First, Cassivelaun, in the execution of his well-laid plan, devastated the country in the line of the enemy's march, and then what little was left by Cassivelaun was sacked or destroyed by the legions of Cæsar. The comparison was soon drawn, that the Trinobantes, who had accepted terms, were living under the king of their choice safe and unmolested, while the clans that still adhered to Cassivelaun saw their houses burnt, their fields pillaged, and their cattle driven off.³ The murmurs increased until eventually the Cenimagni⁴,

¹ "His Cæsar imperat obsides xl frumentumque exercitui." — *B. G.* v. 20.

² "Trinobantibus defensis atque ab *omni militum injuria* prohibitis." — *B. G.* v. 21. Cæsar, therefore, was in the country of the Trinobantes.

³ The devastation of Britain must have been appalling, for Cæsar is represented as saying: "Τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὀρώων ὁδύραϊτο τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρετανίᾳ πορθουμένην." — *Dion.* xli. 30.

⁴ Or Cenimani, the same as the Iceni (Norfolk and Suffolk). They are called by Ptolemy the Σιμενοί, and are placed by him next to the Trinobantes on the north-west. *Ptol.* ii. 3, 21. Probably also the same as Γενουνία μοῖρα, placed in Pausanias next the Brigantes. *Paus.* viii. 43.

Segontiaci¹, Ancalites², Bibroci³, and Cassi⁴, the clans round about the Catyeuchlani, sent envoys to Cæsar and tendered their submission. The states which thus revolted from Cassivelaun had probably been not long before brought under his rule or subjugated by one of his ancestors, and were now, like the Trinobantes, endeavouring to throw off the galling yoke.

As Cassivelaun with his 4000 charioteers still kept the field, Cæsar resolved on striking a blow, which at all events must shake the prestige still attaching to the name of the British patriot. The Cassi, who had turned traitors and were the nearest neighbours of Cassivelaun, offered to conduct the enemy to the capital of the

¹ Not known; but on one of the coins of Cunobelin, successor to Cassivelaun as king of the Catyeuchlani, is the half word SEGO., no doubt indicating the Segontiaci, subjects of Cunobelin. (See *Monum. Hist. Brit.*) Caernarvon bore the name of Segontium, but this seems too distant.

² Not known; but perhaps Oxfordshire, as the Dobuni were the subjects of the Catyeuchlani (*Dion*, lx. 20); and the name of Ancalites has been thought to be still traceable in the town of *Henley* on Thames.

³ Not known; but perhaps Buckinghamshire. In the map of Richard of Cirencester (A. D. 1340) the *Bibroci* are placed in Berkshire; but they appear to have been subjects of Cassivelaun, and he had no territory to the south of the Thames.

⁴ The hundred of Cassio, in Hertfordshire. Some think that Cassivelaunus is Belinus, or king, of the Cassi, as Cunobelinus is conjectured to be Belinus, or king, of the Icenii; but if the Cassi were the immediate and proper subjects of Cassivelaunus, it is hardly credible that they should have revolted from him, and afterwards have urged the capture of Verulamium, their own capital. In the Monument. Ancyran. are the following words: "Ad me (Augustus) supplices confugerunt . . . Reges Britannorum Damno Belalaunusque." (See *Mon. Hist. Brit.* cvi.) It is singular that as Belalaunus enters into the composition of Cassivelaunus and Cunobelinus, so Damno may be traced in the names of Cogidumnus and Togodumnus, kings in the time of Claudius.

Catyeuchlani, Verulamium, or St. Albans; and, as the place was at no great distance, Cæsar led his legions thither, hoping that the loss of the chief city might bring his antagonist to reason. The town is described by Cæsar as fortified by a rampart and a ditch, and as deriving additional strength from woods and marshes.¹ The woods have long since been cleared, but the river Ver (from which the name of Verulamium) still runs to the north of the old site, and formerly stagnated in marshes.² The inclosure within the rampart was very different from one of the continental cities, which usually consisted of narrow streets and many-storied houses. In the capital of Cassivelaun, on the contrary, was a freedom of space, and there were trees and pastures, or as we should call them parks.³

The place was indefensible against a regular and well-disciplined army like that of Cæsar, and Cassivelaun dared not risk his fortunes upon the forlorn hope of withstanding an assault or sustaining a siege. The only possibility of averting the blow was by creating a diversion to the south of the Thames, and he therefore sent orders to the four princes of Kent—Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax—who still remained faithful to the British cause, to collect with dispatch the Kentish forces and make a dash at the Roman camp. It was hoped that if the attempt did not succeed it might still distract the invader's attention. Quintus Atrius, who had been left in com-

¹ "Silvis paludibusque munitum . . . silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt . . . locum reperit egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum."—*B. G.* v. 21.

² See Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire.

³ "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quo incursionis vitandæ causâ convenire consuerunt."—*B. G.* v. 21.

mand of the camp, proved himself equal to the emergency. Following the example set him by Cæsar himself in the former campaign, he did not await the enemy's attack, but making a sudden sally threw the Britons into confusion, and even captured Lugotorix, an officer of high rank. This damped the courage of the allies, and any further attempt was abandoned as hopeless.¹

We may here mention by the way, how improbable and untenable is the hypothesis that the camp of Cæsar was at Pevensey. There is not the least reason to suppose that the boundaries of Kent were ever different from the present, and to the west of the Cantii were the Regni, or people of Sussex and Surrey.² The injunction laid by Cassivelaun upon the kings of Kent to assault the camp of Cæsar was evidently because the locality of it was in Kent. Had it been at Pevensey, the order would have been sent to the Regni, or at least to the Regni and Cantii conjointly, but not to the Cantii exclusively. But on the assumption that Cæsar landed at Romney Marsh, and entrenched his camp at Limne, the circumstance is just what would be expected.

Cæsar, meanwhile, undiverted by the hostilities in Kent, closed around the doomed capital of Cassivelaun, and, dividing his army into two bodies, delivered the assault at two different points. Cassivelaun him-

¹ B. G. v. 22.

² The capital of the Regni was Regnum, or Chichester; and, about a century after this time, Cogidunus, a feudatory of the Romans, was king of the Regni. *Tac. Agric.* 14. Some years ago, a most interesting tablet was discovered at Chichester, bearing the name of Cogidubnus (no doubt the same as Cogidunus), and indicating that under his auspices a temple, dedicated to Minerva and Neptune, had been erected in the reign of Claudius at the expense of the ironmasters of Sussex. See *Horsley's Britain*, and *Monum. Hist. Brit.*

self was not present, and probably the garrison was not numerous. On the other hand, the legionaries were now engaged on an enterprise which was familiar to them, and advanced to the assault with their wonted alacrity. The Britons could not long bear the brunt of the disciplined valour of the Romans, and were driven from the city with no great loss of life, but leaving as a spoil to the enemy the numerous flocks and herds which had been here collected from the adjacent country.¹

The fortunes of Cassivelaun were now at their lowest ebb. With occasional glimpses of success, he had been beaten in every general engagement. He had seen his

¹ I have adopted the common notion that Verulamium was Cassivelaun's town; but there are objections to it, for it was probably the capital of the Cassi, and, if so, it is very unlikely that they should have stimulated Cæsar to march against it (*B. G.* v. 21); and, besides, it does not very well answer to the description given by Cæsar, viz. a place defended by woods and marshes, though both woods and marshes may at that time have existed.

On the other hand, there are many plausible arguments in favour of London. The latter was unquestionably a British settlement, as the name implies, and about 100 years after this was one of the first, if not the first, city in Britain. *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 33. The situation also exactly agrees, for Cæsar says the place was "*sylvis paludibusque munitum*" (*B. G.* v. 21); which Orosius expounds as follows: "*oppidum inter duas paludes situm, obtentu insuper sylvarum munitum*" (*Oro.* vi. 9): and just such is London as painted by the old chroniclers. "An immense forest originally extended to the river side, and, even as late as the reign of Henry II., covered the northern neighbourhood of the city. It was defended naturally by fosses; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet Ditch (west), and the other afterwards known by that of Walbrook (east). The south side was guarded by the Thames; the north they might think sufficiently guarded by the forest." — *Encyc. Londin.* art. "London."

If London was the place attacked, we can understand why the Cassi should have prompted it; for their chief city, Verulam, was the old capital of the Catyeuchlani, and they were naturally jealous of the rising importance of the great commercial mart.

capital taken and sacked; many of the states which owed him allegiance had revolted. On the other hand, Cæsar also felt himself in a critical situation. True, he was master of the ground on which he stood, but so long as Cassivelaun was at the head of his 4000 charioteers, the victor could not subdivide his army, and could not even detach his cavalry on any expedition, either for the annoyance of the enemy or defence of his allies. The subsistence of his troops depended altogether on the Trinobantes, and should the party opposed to Mandubert gain the ascendancy, even their fidelity could not be reckoned upon. He was also uneasy about the camp, which was too far distant to be under his own keeping, and where again the Britons might assemble in force and with better success. But above all, it was now the month of September, and as it was quite impossible that he should remain in Britain during the winter (for the Gauls would rise in his absence), it was necessary to take measures for his immediate return. If the equinoctial gales set in, some serious loss might occur. It was thus evidently Cæsar's policy to patch up a peace and retire from the contest, if he could do so with credit, or at least without dishonour. In addition to the chagrin arising from the want of his usual military triumphs, Cæsar had also a heavy heart from the news which now reached him of the death of his beloved daughter Julia, the wife of Pompey, the disruption of the last frail tie which held the two ambitious chiefs together.¹

It was about this time, when Cæsar saw the necessity of coming to terms, that he wrote to Cicero to prepare the Roman public for the abandonment of Britain. "I learn from my brother's letter," writes

¹ "C. Cæsar quum Britanniam peragraret, nec oceano felicitatem suam continere posset, audivit decessisse filiam, publica secum fata ducentem." — *Senec. de Consolat. ad Marciam*, 14.

Cicero to Atticus, "some extraordinary instances of Cæsar's regard for me, and this is confirmed by a very full letter from Cæsar himself. They are now looking forward to a termination of the war in Britain, for it is plain that the approaches to the island are defended by stupendous masses (the cliffs). They have also found that there is not a scrap of gold in the whole island! nor any prospect of booty except from slaves, amongst whom, methinks, you may look in vain for any skill in letters or music."¹

According to Cæsar, the first overtures for peace came from Cassivelaun; but one circumstance is mentioned incidentally which leads us to conjecture that though ostensibly the ground was broken by Cassivelaun, yet in fact the movement proceeded from Cæsar himself. It is said that the proposition reached Cæsar through Comius of Arras. Now Comius was the creature of Cæsar and followed his camp, and it is not unlikely that the politic Roman conveyed an intimation through Comius that if terms of peace were offered they would be favourably received. At all events, an arrangement was come to by which Cassivelaun was to give hostages for his good faith, and Britain was nominally to pay a fixed annual tribute.² The hostages were given, but no tribute was ever paid, and it was probably understood at the time by both parties that the tribute was not to be exacted. Any one might foresee that it would not be forthcoming except on compulsion, and as Cæsar did not propose to leave any garrison in the island, he of course knew that the tribute would never

¹ *Epist. Attic.* iv. 16. The letter to Atticus was written in the latter half of October; and the letter of Cæsar must therefore have been written in the latter half of September.

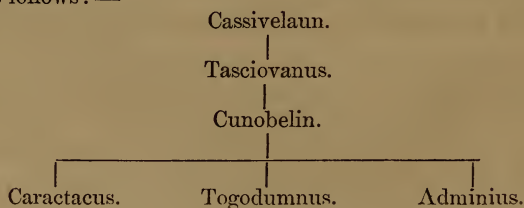
² Cæsar speaks of Britain generally; but Livy writes "*aliquam partem insulæ in potestatem redegit.*" — *Liv. Epit.* lib. 105.

reach his exchequer. Mandubert and his partisans amongst the Trinobantes had betrayed their country's cause, and attached themselves to the fortunes of Cæsar, and the Roman ought not to have negotiated a peace without providing for the safety of Mandubert and his friends. It would appear, however, that Cæsar did not make it one of the articles of the treaty that Mandubert should be seated on the throne of the Trinobantes, but contented himself only with an idle threat if Cassivelaun should ever disturb him.¹ Cæsar must have felt that if he withdrew his army into Gaul, as was his fixed intention, it was impossible to secure to Mandubert the possession of his kingdom. Such, at all events, was the result, for a century afterwards we find the kings of the Catyeuchlani, the descendants of Cassivelaun, ruling over the Trinobantes.² To what immediate successor was transmitted the crown which Cassivelaun had so manfully maintained, history has not informed us; but there must have been but little space between him and Tasciovanus, who was the father of Cunobelin, or Cymbeline, who was the father of Caractacus, the British hero in the reign of Claudius.³ The coins of Tascio-

¹ "Interdicit atque imperat Cassivelauno ne Mandubratio neu Trinobantibus bellum faciat." — *B. G.* v. 22.

² "Πρῶτον μὲν Καταράτακον, ἔπειτα Τογόδουμνον Κυνοβελλίνου παῖδας ἐνίκησεν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει· φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων προσποιήσατο ὁμολογίᾳ μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων, ὧν ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες." — *Dion*, lx. 20.

³ The pedigree of the kings of the Catyeuchlani would therefore stand as follows: —



vanus are stamped with the name of Verulamium, the capital of the Catyeuchlani, and the coins of Cunobelin with the names of Verulamium and Camulodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes¹, and at the latter Cunobelin seems eventually to have fixed his palace.²

Cæsar now retraced his steps to the sea, and one is curious to know what was his route; where he crossed the Thames, and through what towns he passed. But his narrative gives no details, and we may therefore conclude that the march was an ordinary one, and that no misadventure occurred. The Britons no doubt watched with satisfaction the retrograde movement of their powerful adversary, and were well enough content to let him depart in peace.

How far northward Cæsar had advanced before the conclusion of hostilities it is impossible to say. Strabo, on the one hand, affirms that it was no great way³; Florus, on the other, speaks of his having penetrated even to the Caledonian woods.⁴ We collect from the Commentaries that Cæsar, with his army, was amongst the Trinobantes, and subsequently at Verulam; but we should imagine, from the short time spent in Britain, that he did not proceed much further—not probably beyond Hertfordshire.

Cæsar on reaching Limne was under some anxiety how to transport his troops. A large proportion of his vessels had utterly perished in the storm shortly after his arrival; but he had left orders for the refitting of

¹ See the coins in Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 153.

² “Τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασιλείον.” — *Dion*, lx. 21.

³ “Οὐδὲ προελθῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νήσου.” — *Strab.* lib. iv. c. 5.

⁴ “Caledonias secutus in sylvas unum quoque e regibus Caledonianis (q. Cantianis, or Cassivelaunianis, see *Cæs. B. G.* v. 22) in vincula dedit.” — *Florus Epit.* iii. 10.

such as had been damaged only, and had instructed Labienus, who had remained in Gaul, to build others with the greatest dispatch. The repairs of the old fleet had been completed, but no additional ships from Labienus had arrived. As, therefore, the whole army could not be conveyed at once in the vessels at command, Cæsar determined on making two successive shipments. The first part of the army was embarked at once, and Cæsar himself, like a prudent general, remained in Britain in charge of the second division.

It was during this interval, while he was waiting for the return of his ships with the addition of those newly built by Labienus, that he wrote another letter to Cicero at Rome. It appears to have communicated no striking intelligence, but was a mere summary. Every word, however, written by Cæsar, and from Britain, possesses a high degree of interest, and it needs no apology to give Cicero's notice of it in an epistle to his friend Atticus. "On the 24th October," he says, "I received a letter from my brother Quintus, and another from Cæsar, *dated from the shores of Britain, the 26th September*. Britain was disposed of, and hostages received; no booty, but a tribute imposed. They were bringing back their troops from Britain."¹

The date of 26th September must not mislead us. The calendar had not been reformed, and the reckoning of time was extremely erroneous, and we shall see presently that in reality the letter must have been written

¹ "Ab Quinto fratre et à Cæsare accepi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novemb. litteras; confectâ Britannîâ, obsidibus acceptis, nullâ prædâ, imperatâ tamen pecuniâ; datas a littoribus Britanniaë, proximo a. d. vi. Kalend. Octob. Exercitum Britannîâ reportabant." — *Cic. Ep. Attic.* iv. 17.

at least some days previously, viz. before 24th September.

In maritime matters Cæsar throughout was most unfortunate. As the return transports and the newly built vessels from Labienus were crossing the channel, they encountered such a storm that few of them only reached Britain, and the rest were driven back to the port which they had quitted. Nothing could be more mortifying. In a short time heavy gales were to be expected, and the navigation of the seas would become dangerous. As one division only of the army was in Britain, the islanders, encouraged by the enemy's weakness, might, as they had done the previous year, again commence hostilities, when who could foresee the result? Several days passed, and either from stress of weather or want of repairs, the expected vessels from Gaul did not arrive. The equinox was just at hand¹, and Cæsar was afraid of any longer delay, and therefore determined on embarking the remaining forces at once in the stinted number of vessels which had reached him. The decks would of course be inconveniently crowded, but departure from Britain was to be effected at any cost. At nine o'clock at night, in calm weather, Cæsar hoisted anchor from the shores of Britain, leaving not a soldier behind², and never more to return. Boulogne was reached at *break of morn*; and the day may be fixed with some degree of precision as follows:—The equinox was not over but was close at hand, and it must therefore have been before, and not long before, the 24th September, which was then reckoned the day of the

¹ "Quod equinoctium suberat." — *B. G.* v. 23.

² "Καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε σράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ." — *Dion*, xl. 4.

³ "Summâ tranquillitate consecutâ, secundâ inîtâ quum solvisset vigiliâ, primâ luce terram attigit." — *B. G.* v. 23.

equinox. As the sun rises about that time a little before 6 A.M., he must have gained Boulogne about 5 A.M., when daylight would begin. But as Boulogne was a tidal harbour, it was necessary that he should enter it at, or a little before, high water. On what day, therefore, would it be high water at Boulogne at 5 A.M. just before the 24th September? The full moon for September, B.C. 54, was on the 15th of the month, when it would be high water at Boulogne at 11.20 A.M. Consequently, if we reckon forward, we shall find that it was high tide at Boulogne at 5 A.M. on the 22nd September. It was thus on the evening of the preceding day, or the 21st September, that Cæsar quitted Britain for ever.

We must here draw an inference from the time occupied in crossing the Channel. As Cæsar sailed at nine at night, and gained the coast of Gaul at 5 A.M., he was just eight hours on the passage. Now, if he steered for Boulogne, which is twenty-eight miles, the rate of sailing was three and a half miles an hour, which is what might be expected from row boats in calm weather.¹ But if he embarked, as the Astronomer Royal supposes, at Pevensey, and sailed to the estuary of the Somme, a distance of sixty miles, it would yield an average speed of seven and a half miles an hour, which for row boats, and in a calm, is inconceivable. The Professor urges, as an argument in his favour, that Cæsar, on arriving in Gaul, held a council at Samarobriva, or Amiens, which is on the Somme²; but I cannot attach any importance to this, as it is expressly

¹ They were all "actuariæ" (*B. G.* v. 1), and it was "summa tranquillitas" (*B. G.* v. 23).

² "Subductis navibus, concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivæ peracto." — *B. G.* v. 24.

mentioned that he had previously laid up his vessels in ordinary at the port of his arrival, and might of course after that have departed for Amiens or any other town of Gaul. The very fact also of laying up the vessels in ordinary implies the presence of naval docks and yards on an extensive scale, which would be found in the great port of the Morini, but not in a mere estuary.¹

I have now sketched the two Invasions of Britain by Cæsar, and the little success of them is matter of surprise. In the first year, Cæsar scarcely ventured a mile from the sea-shore. He had wholly miscalculated the strength of the enemy, and being destitute also of cavalry, he acted throughout, after his first landing, on the defensive. On the second occasion he attempted, at the head of three times the force, and a numerous body of cavalry, to retrieve his credit; but such was the obstinacy with which the Britons encountered him, that until the rebellion in his favour of the Trinobantes he was reduced by the tactics of the enemy to the utmost straits. Even after the civil dissension which threw the Trinobantes and the clans which followed them into the arms of Cæsar, Cassivelaun, with his charioteers, was master of the country, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the legions. The Britons were no doubt far behind the Romans in discipline, and Cassivelaun may not have been a match for Cæsar in strategy; yet the islanders displayed such an indomi-

¹ "Un fait me paraît trancher la question: c'est la mise à sec des vaisseaux après le retour à Icius (*B. G.* iv. 21). Or ceci ne peut s'entendre que d'un véritable camp naval construit selon toutes les règles, c'est à dire, divisé par quartiers, flanqué de palissades, entouré d'un large fossé (*Tit. Liv.* xxxvi. 45, xxiii. 28), protégé enfin, défendu avec toutes les ressources qu'offrait à César sa longue pratique de castramétation." — *Maricette*, 34.

table spirit, and Cassivelaun so much natural military genius, that Cæsar was content to retire from the contest without any sensible advantage. The British general, instead of being led a captive to Rome, treated for peace on a footing of equality. Even the terms agreed upon in favour of Rome were probably never meant to be, and certainly never were, fulfilled. One thing is clear, that when Cæsar quitted the island he left not a soul behind, and that for about 100 years afterwards the Britons were as free as if a Roman legion had never trod the soil. Cæsar of course represents his exploits in the most favourable light, and would have us suppose that he succeeded in extorting hostages and imposing a tribute; but had the British Annals descended to us by the side of the Roman Commentaries, we might then have heard of the destruction of Cæsar's cavalry by the Essedarii, the weakening of the legions by successful sallies against their rearguard, and the thinning of their ranks from exposure and privation, until at length the conqueror of Gaul was under the necessity of submitting to an ignominious peace. Even his own countrymen have done the Britons some justice, for Tacitus confesses that Cæsar by his two campaigns made only the discovery of Britain, not the conquest of it¹; that although victorious in more than one fight, he had eventually been worsted and obliged to abandon the enterprise²; that the Britons, in short, retained their freedom,

¹ "Primus omnium Romanorum Divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prosperâ pugnâ terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse." — *Vit. Agric.* 13.

² "Recessuros [Romanos], ut Divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum [Britanni] æmulerentur, neve prælii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent." — *Tac. Agric.* c. 15.

and were never tributaries to Rome.¹ Lucan even goes so far as to say that Cæsar and his army had fairly shown their backs to the Britons; and Horace² and Tibullus³ both treat the Britons as still unvanquished in their time. Strabo observes that Cæsar made no great progress;⁴ and Dion Cassius tells us that Cæsar was repulsed⁵, and that he brought the war in Britain to a conclusion very little to his liking.⁶ This we can readily conceive, for the expense of constructing 800 vessels, and freighting them with a numerous army, must have been enormous; and what was there to show for it?—Cæsar in Gaul, and Britain without a Roman!

¹ "Vacui a securibus et tributis." — *Tac. Ann.* xii. 34.

² "Intactus Britannus ut descenderet

Sacrâ catenatus viâ." *Epod. Lib.* vii. 7.

³ "Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus." — *Lib.* iv. v. 149.

⁴ "Οὐδὲν μέγα διαπραζάμενος." — *Strabo*, iv. 5.

⁵ "Τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκεῖνον ἐξηλασαμεν [the Britons]." — *Xiphilinus*, cited *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lvi.

⁶ "Οὐχ οἷον ἐβούλετο τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν." — *Vit. Jul. Cæs.* 23.

APPENDIX.

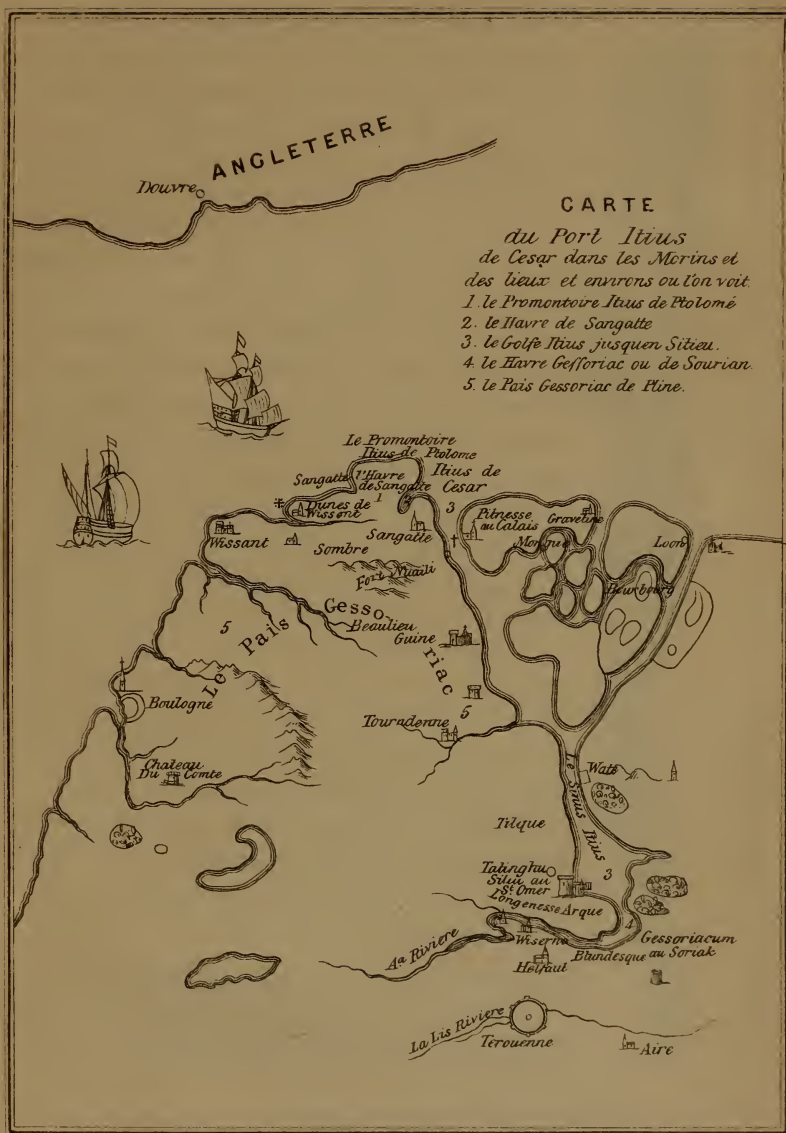
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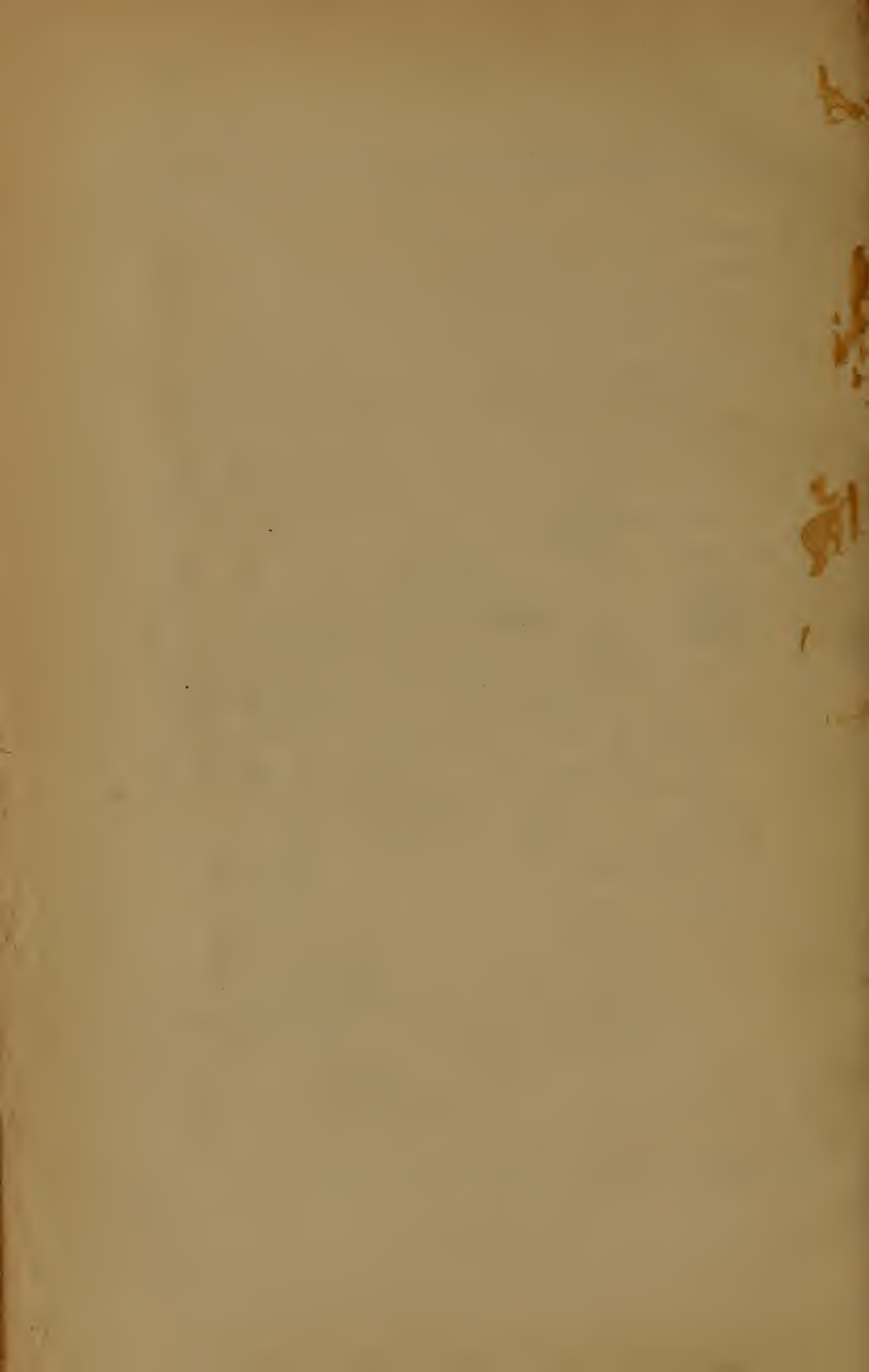
SINCE the preceding pages were written, the Rev. C. Merivale (author of the "Roman History") has kindly placed in my hands a tract by Christopher Godmond, Esq., published in 1836, intituled "A Memoir of Therrouane and a Discourse on the Portus Itius of Cæsar." It is there contended that the port from which Cæsar sailed was Wissant, and the *portus superior* Sangatte, and that the debarcation was at Deal. The arguments by which these views are supported contain little novelty, and do not shake the author's confidence in the theory submitted to the reader in the foregoing Essay. The only remarkable feature in the publication is, the copy of an old map, of which the following account is given:—

"M. Deneufville, in an autograph MS. of the date 1724 and 1725, intituled 'Annales de la Ville de St. Omer,' shows an ancient chart of the country of the Morini and of the Portus Itius, where Malbrancq places it, at Sangatte, including Therrouanne, as the country was in the 8th century. The original chart, however, is not now amongst other MSS. of the 8th century in that library." And Mr. Godmond continues: "The author of this Memoir has seen the copy of M. Deneuf-

ville attached to the MS. in the library of St. Omer, but on inquiry for the original amongst the MSS. of the 8th century, he was informed it had been lost."

That the reader may judge for himself as to the genuineness of the map, a copy of it is annexed; but the author cannot regard it otherwise than as a fanciful sketch, illustrative of the draftsman's idea that the sea once flowed up to St. Omer. For this purpose the geography of Ptolemy has been ingeniously applied. It will be seen on inspecting the map that the Ἰκίον Ἀκρον of Ptolemy is placed at Cape Blancnez instead of Cape Grisnez, and the Γησορίανον ἐπίγειον of Ptolemy at St. Omer. In aid of the latter view the three last syllables of Gesoriac are identified with the site of an old chapel near St. Omer called Soriack. That changes in this part of the coast may have taken place is not improbable, but it would require strong evidence to prove that the face of the country has undergone so total a transformation as here represented, not to mention that a map of the 8th century, existing in 1724, would be a topographical curiosity.





No. II.

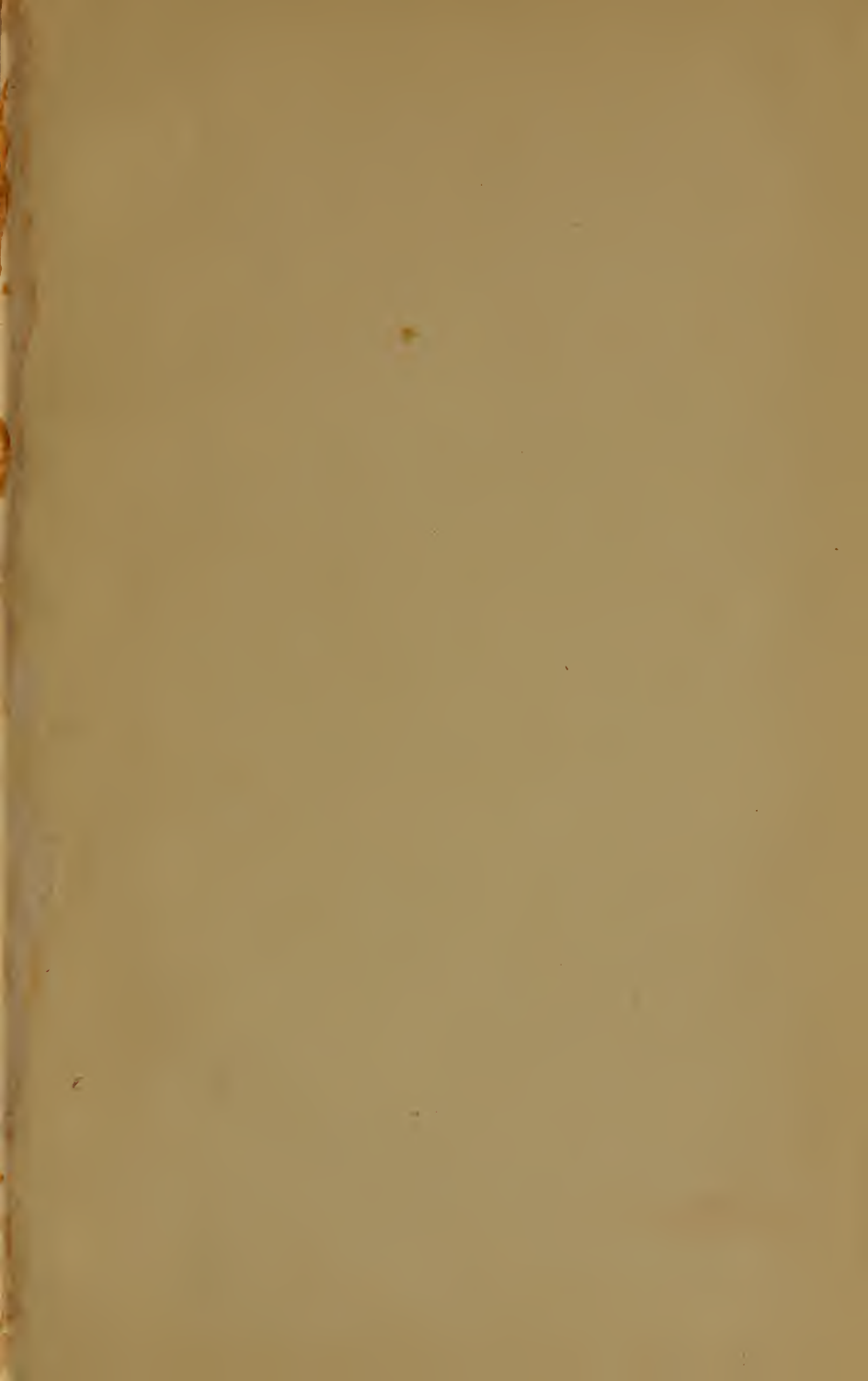
Should the discussion in the foregoing pages upon the subject of the Coway Stakes have excited any interest in the reader, some further particulars may not be unacceptable. A so-called Coway Stake has been deposited in the British Museum, and may be seen there amongst the British Roman Antiquities. A sketch of it is annexed. That it may have been brought from Coway ford is not impossible, but it can scarcely have been one of those described by Bede, as cased with lead and about the size of a man's thigh, or one of those which were taken by the fisherman Simmons to have served for the piles of an ancient bridge. The Museum stake is about four feet long, has no trace of either iron or lead, and is not bigger than a man's arm. The lower half apparently has been buried in the ground, and the upper half only exposed to the action of water. The wood is thought to be oak. If the relic be genuine, it must have been one of the stakes planted near the river's edge.

However, Cæsar speaks of *acutæ sudes*, while the head of the one in question has been flattened by the mallet or driver.* Indeed it has all the appearance of an ordinary stake used for a weir, or for some fishing apparatus.

* A friend, who has examined the stake with some minuteness, observes that the fibres of the wood at the head lie all in one direction, and that this is the result, not of mechanical force, but of the constant action of the stream.



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